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ABSTRACT

The educational policies of Yugoslavia are presented in this report by examiners from the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). A comprehensive report on all aspects of education in Yugoslavia was used as their frame of reference; data were collected by them from a two-week tour of the country. The volume is divided into three parts--the examiners' report; the record of the review meeting by the OECD Education Committee; and a summary of the report on the conditions, problems, and policies of education prepared by the Yugoslav authorities. Educational development has broadly followed the OECD expansionist trend of ten years of primary and lower secondary education for all young people and a variety of post-school opportunities. After a late start, progress has been rapid with a high rate of expenditure. A general, distinctively Yugoslav education in Marxist doctrine permeates the entire system. A vocational orientation has recently emerged at the secondary and postsecondary level; also, multilingual instruction is made available at formidable cost. Finally, the control of education, unlike other federal countries and Russian etatism, is highly decentralized in accordance with the principle of self-management. A glossary of main concepts and terms used in relation to the social and political systems in Yugoslavia is included. (NE)

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# YUGOSLAVIA

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PARIS 1981

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NATIONALES D'ÉDUCATION

YOUGOSLAVIE

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# CONTENTS

Preface........................................... 5
Glossary.......................................... 7
The Examiners and the Yugoslav Delegation.................. 22

## Part One

## THE EXAMINERS' REPORT

I. The Yugoslav context................................ 24
II. Self-management and the organisation of education........ 34
III. Pre-school and elementary education..................... 49
IV. Secondary education................................ 63
V. Higher education.................................... 76
VI. Administration, power, control and choice............... 90
VII. Education, life and work............................ 102

## Part Two

## RECORD OF THE REVIEW MEETING
(Paris, 14 November 1980)

I. Introduction........................................ 114
II. Pre-school provision................................ 118
III. Elementary schooling............................... 120
IV. Secondary education................................ 123
V. Higher and recurrent education......................... 128
VI. Administration, power and control...................... 132

## Part Three

## THE CONDITIONS, PROBLEMS AND POLICIES OF EDUCATION IN YUGOSLAVIA

Summary of the background report prepared by the Yugoslav authorities.......................................... 137

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# PREFACE

For this review of educational policy in Yugoslavia the Examiners took as their frame of reference a comprehensive report on all aspects of education in Yugoslavia prepared under the auspices of the Federal Administration for International Scientific, Educational, Cultural and Technical Cooperation. A summary of this report is presented in Part Three.

By travelling during a fortnight's visit, sometimes singly as well as in a group, the Examiners contrived to visit all types of educational institutions and to interview a wide range of people concerned with education in each of the six republics and two autonomous provinces. They were struck by the extraordinary geographic and ethnic diversity of Yugoslavia and the implications of this diversity for the way education is organised and financed. They were no less struck by the way the distinctive Yugoslav application of socialism governs educational theory and practice. In Yugoslavia, probably more than in any other country, the education system can only be apprehended through acquaintance with the surrounding political, economic, social and cultural factors.

Educational development in Yugoslavia has broadly followed the OECD expansionist trend to arrive at ten years of primary and lower secondary education for virtually all young people and a variety of post-school opportunities. After a late start, progress has been rapid with a high rate of expenditure. A general education in Marxist doctrine, in a distinctively Yugoslav form, permeates the entire system from pre-school provision to postgraduate studies. A vocational orientation has recently emerged strongly at the secondary and post-secondary level. Multilingual instruction is made available at formidable cost out of a conviction that everyone has the basic right to learn in the mother tongue. Finally, the control of education is highly decentralised in accordance with the principle of self-management. This distinguishes Yugoslavia not only from other federal countries but also from Russian etatism and from the potential alternative of a market system.

The Examiners stress that Yugoslav education is nevertheless interesting more for what it is becoming and intends to become than for what it is. The standard OECD pattern is of a system initiated, funded, administered and controlled by the state. Immediately after the war Yugoslavia followed the same path and some of the traditional features remain. The difference is, however, that not only has education been devolved to the republics and the provinces but much more radical decentralisation has taken place towards the autonomy of each single education institution as "a unit of associated labour" controlled by those who are directly served by or directly produce education through "communities of interest". These range from communes which control and manage the local elementary school to higher education communities of interest who watch over the affairs of the university faculties.

The Examiners consider each sector of the system under the four headings of governance, finance, curriculum and access, and raise a large number of questions. For example, they inquire whether efforts to decentralise the management of elementary schools are likely to increase rather than decrease disparities in funding for elementary education. To what extent have changes been made or are changes proposed in the curriculum of the eight-year school to reflect the advent of ten years of compulsory schooling for virtually all young people? Have any plans been drawn up for monitoring the effects of the reform of education and for adjusting the system in the light of proven unmet needs or undesirable outcomes? Does the complicated structure of bargaining and decision-making concerning higher education in effect give power to full-time administrators as against teachers, students, citizens or politically organised workers? How can education serve national objectives of economic growth and satisfy priority needs, including those in prospect as a result of technological change, without a degree of central co-ordination? Is the accumulation of the results of the exercise of individual initiative an adequate process?

These and other questions were fully answered by an official Yugoslav Delegation, citing a good deal of new information, which attended a review meeting at the OECD in November 1980.

The volume is divided into three parts:

i) the Examiners' report;
ii) the record of the review meeting by the OECD Education Committee;
iii) a summary of the background report prepared by the Yugoslav authorities.

In order to assist the reader in understanding some of the main concepts and terms commonly used in relation to the social and political systems in Yugoslavia, a Glossary follows.

# GLOSSARY
(Objašnjenje pojmova)

## ACTIVITIES OF SPECIAL SOCIAL CONCERN
(delatnosti od posebnog društvenog interesa)

The term covers those activities conducted by organisations of associated labour or self-managing communities of interest which are essential for the normal life of citizens and the work of organisations of associated labour, for example: education, science, culture, social security, welfare and health care. It is determined by statute of a decision of the assembly of the competent socio-political community made on statutory authority, which activities have such a character.

## THE ASSEMBLY OF WORKING PEOPLE AND CITIZENS
(zbor radnih ljudi i gradjana)

This is an organised form of personal expression of views by working people and citizens in self-management communities of interest, local communities and other self-managing organisations and communities on questions falling within the self-management competence of the organisations and communities respectively, and on other questions of concern for their life and work. At such assemblies working people and citizens, acting in conformity with law and self-management enactments of self-managing organisations and/or communities concerned, express their views and decide on individual questions on the agenda.

## ASSOCIATED LABOUR
(udruženi rad)

A term used to denote all institutional forms of association of labour by workers who, organised on a self-management basis, perform with socially-owned resources economic and non-economic activities, and also to denote all other forms of pooling of labour and resources by working people on these foundations.

### ASSOCIATIONS OF CITIZENS
(udruženja gradjana)

Bodies of citizens organised for the pursuance of joint interests or hobbies (professional associations, various clubs pursuing activities motivated by their hobbies or recreational wishes, philatelists, hunters, bee-keepers, amateur photographers, choral societies, etc.).

### BASIC ORGANISATION OF ASSOCIATED LABOUR
(osnovna organizacija udruženog rada)

The fundamental form of association of labour in which workers directly and on equal terms realise their socio-economic and other self-management rights, and decide on other questions concerning their socio-economic status. A basic organisation of associated labour is formed for each unit of a work organisation which makes up a working whole (a plant, a technological unit, etc.) in which the results of joint labour can be expressed in terms of value on the market or within the work organisation concerned.

### BASIC SELF-MANAGING ORGANISATION OR COMMUNITY
(osnovna samoupravna organizacija odnosno zajednica)

This is a general term covering organisations of associated labour, work communities (see explanation for the work community), local communities and other self-managing organisations and communities, in which working people directly realise their socio-economic and other self-managing rights and duties and on a self-management basis decide on questions concerning their socio-economic status.

### COMMUNE
(opština)

The basic self-managed socio-political community which provides an organic link between all forms of the organisation of the working class and working people along self-management lines. Government in the commune is controlled by the working people who come together both as self-managers at work and as self-managers in the satisfaction of their social, cultural and other requirements. The working people in the commune, which is an integral part of the unified social organism, participate by way of the system of delegates in all forms of government at all levels in the community.

COMMUNITIES OF BASIC ORGANISATIONS OF ASSOCIATED LABOUR
(interesne zajednice)

These communities are formed for the purpose of jointly promoting production and business operations, co-ordinating plans and development programmes, regulating mutual socio-economic relations between basic organisations of associated labour as partners with equal self-management rights.

COMMUNITIES OF INTEREST
(samoupravne interesne zajednice)

Are a self-management-based form for integrating labour in material production with labour in the spheres of education, science, culture, health and other social and public services. Through these communities, the delegates of workers engaged in material production, and the delegates of social and public services, regularly, in an organised manner and on terms of equality, discuss and agree on the regulation of their mutual relations, on the free exchange of their labour, on joint programming, on the financing of common requirements, in line with the common interest and joint development policy.

COMPOSITE ORGANISATION OF ASSOCIATED LABOUR
(složena organizacija udruženog rada)

A form of organisation of associated labour developing from the direct integration of work organisations or basic organisations of associated labour which are part of the former organisations and their transformation into wider forms of organisations of associated labour. The forms of complex organisations of labour found most frequently are: associated work organisations, work organisations integrated into technological systems (railways, PTT), industrial and other kinds of large combined plants.

CONTRIBUTIONS
(doprinosi)

This term is used to denote levies collected on part of the income of basic organisations of associated labour and/or on part of citizens' incomes, on the basis of agreement reached by working people. The resources thus collected are used to finance the collective needs of the working people in the fields of education, science, culture, health, social security, etc.

## CONFERENCE OF THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS OF YUGOSLAVIA
(Kongres Saveza komunista Jugoslavije)

The highest forum of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia between two congresses at which current policy is defined and elaborated on the grounds of the guidelines laid down by the Congresses. Conferences discuss the most important problems in various spheres of society's life and international relations on which the LCY must formulate policies.

## DELEGATE SYSTEM
(delegatski sistem)

It is the groundwork upon which assemblies (commune, provincial, republic and federal) are constituted on the basis of collective delegations of organisations of associated labour, local communities and socio-political organisations. The delegate system ensures direct presence by working people in the assemblies, makes impossible political outvoting of one category of the population by another, and ensures functional linkage of short- and long-term interests of individual sections of society and of society as a whole. The delegate system is an institutionally new and special kind of link between self-management and government. It is the universal principle underlying Yugoslavia's entire socio-political system.

## DELEGATIONS OF SOCIO-POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS
(delegacija društveno-političkih organizacija)

This term denotes one of the institutions through which working people and citizens organised in socio-political organisations associated in the Socialist Alliance of the Working People, which is a voluntary and democratic front of working people and citizens and of all organised socialist forces, realise their rights and duties and in an organised way take part in the performance of functions of the assemblies of socio-political communities. The functions of the delegations in socio-political organisations are performed by their elected bodies, as specified by the by-laws and other enactments of these organisations.

## DELEGATIONS OF WORKING PEOPLE IN BASIC SELF-MANAGING ORGANISATIONS AND COMMUNITIES
(delegacije radnih ljudi u osnovnim samoupravnim organizacijama i zajednicama)

Such delegations are made up of members delegated by workers in basic organisations of associated labour and work communities (see explanation for the work community) and by working people in local communities, for purposes of direct exercise of their rights, duties and responsibilities and for purposes of organised participation in the performance of functions of the assemblies of socio-political communities. Under the delegational system, the delegations are an institutional form which enables working people in an organised way and on a continuous basis to take part in decision-making concerning questions falling within the competence of socio-political communities, and to exercise supervision over the work of the executive and administrative agencies set up by such assemblies. The delegations are also formed to ensure direct realisation of the rights, duties and responsibilities of working people and their organised participation in the performance of functions of the assemblies of self-managing communities of interest.

## DELEGATES TO THE ASSEMBLIES OF SOCIO-POLITICAL COMMUNITIES
(delegati u skupštinama društveno-političkih zajednica)

This is a general term for all delegates to the appropriate chambers of the assemblies of the socio-political communities (communes, autonomous provinces, republics and the Federation) that are elected by delegations in basic self-managing organisations and communities from among the delegations' own members and by delegations of socio-political organisations, and/or by delegates to the assemblies of the communes, autonomous provinces and republics. In the assemblies of socio-political communities the delegates present the fundamental views of the delegations of the basic self-managing organisations and/or assemblies which have delegated them. Delegates to the commune assemblies are elected by the delegations of basic self-managing organisations and communities and by socio-political organisations, while delegates to the republican assemblies are delegated by the commune assemblies. For their work the delegates are responsible to the delegations and/or assemblies which have delegated them.

## FREE EXCHANGE OF LABOUR
(slobodna razmena rada)

A form of earning income in the basic organisations of associated labour which perform activities in the spheres of education, science, culture, health and social welfare or some other social activity. The income is realised by giving services of joint interest, directly and/or within the framework of self-managing communities of interest, from the income of other basic organisations, in accordance with the contribution made by their labour to the generation of value added in material production, the rise in the productivity of total social labour, and the development of society as a whole.

### INCOME
(dohodak)

A part of society's total product which workers in basic organisations earn in monetary form as the social recognition of the results of their own and total social labour under conditions of the socialist mode of commodity production, and which they manage in basic organisations on the basis of their right to work with social resources; the part of the gross income after covering the value of all material resources used up in the process of reproduction (material costs) and of the permanent means of production and other instruments of labour (depreciation charges).

### LABOUR RELATIONSHIP
(radni odnos)

It is the term used to describe what is termed in English-speaking countries "being employed". The term "employment" cannot be used because under the system of socialist self-management one lot of people do not employ another lot, but all are in a labour relationship with each other.

### LIVING LABOUR
(živi rad)

This term is used to denote the present work of workers in organisations of associated labour operating with socially-owned resources, i.e. labour which is expended in the course of the production process or the performance of other activities and which generates value added, regardless of whether a product, a commodity or a service is involved. Living labour is one of the basic criteria and scales for determining the part of income of a basic organisation of associated labour which accrues to its workers proportionately to the contribution they have made with their labour, and the part of income accruing to individual workers as personal income.

### LOCAL COMMUNITY
(mesna zajednica)

A form of association, on self-management grounds, of working people and citizens in the area of a settlement, part of a settlement or several settlements joined together. In the local community, the working people and citizens make decisions on the pursuit of their common interests and the satisfaction of their common needs. They do not exercise the functions of government and in this respect differ from the socio-political communities (communes, autonomous provinces, republics and federation).

## LOCAL SELF-CONTRIBUTIONS
(mesni samodoprinos)

A form of self-initiative and extra-institutional compact among the citizens in one locality, settlement or town for the purpose of satisfying their joint wants (construction of schools, hospitals and other public and communal institutions, laying roads and water mains, and so on) on the basis of their own personal financial resources.

## NATIONALITY
(narodnost)

It is a term used for members of nations whose homelands border on Yugoslavia and for members of other nations whose members live in Yugoslavia but whose ethnic homeland is in some other country. The Constitution lays down the principle of equality of the nations and nationalities living in Yugoslavia.

## NATIONS OF YUGOSLAVIA
(narodi Jugoslavije)

This term denotes the Yugoslavs who live in one or more of the socialist republics of the Yugoslav Federation and which, on the basis of their right to self-determination, including the right to secession, have united in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

## NET INCOME
(čist dohodak)

A part of income of basic organisation allocated for the personal incomes and collective consumption of workers, the promotion and expansion of the material base of labour and the creation and renewal of reserves in basic organisation and for ensuring the common and general conditions of labour and development of society.

## ORGANISATION OF ASSOCIATED LABOUR
(organizacija udruženog rada)

Denotes all forms of independent, self-managing organisations within which the workers engage in economic or other social activities with socially-owned means; forms of association set up on the basis of integration of the labour of workers who work with socially-owned means; in them the workers manage the labour and the business operations of the organisation and the affairs and means of social reproduction; they regulate their mutual labour relations, make decisions on the income they realise through various forms of the association of labour and the conception of "organisation of associated labour" is a general one which embodies the following concrete forms: basic organisation of associated labour, work organisation and complex organisation of associated labour. Organisations of associated labour were formerly designated by the words "enterprise" (applicable to the economy) and "institution" (applicable to non-economic activities).

## ORGANS OF SELF-MANAGEMENT WORKERS' SUPERVISION

(Samoupravni radnički organi)

Are special bodies in organisations of associated labour whose duty is to exercise workers' supervision aimed at realising and safeguarding workers' self-management rights; the institutional organs of workers' self-management are: the assembly of the working people, the workers' council and its autonomous executive organs.

## PAST LABOUR

(minuli rad)

It is an economic category which represents materialised or objectified labour and ensures in practice economic and social security for workers, or rather, their right to share in the benefits of increased productivity achieved through the accumulation of the results of their labour over many years. It is, in other words, current labour incorporated into or stored up in commodities produced by it. Besides living labour, past labour is also a criterion and scale for determining the part of income of a basic organisation of associated labour which accrues to workers proportionately to the contribution they have made with their labour, and also the part of income accruing to individual workers as personal income. Past labour is also one of the bases for determining workers' social security benefits.

## PERSONAL EXPRESSION OF VIEWS BY WORKING PEOPLE AND CITIZENS

(lično izjašnjavanje radnih ljudi i gradjana)

This term covers various forms of taking stands and/or direct decision-making by working people and citizens on questions falling within the province of work of their self-managing organisations and/or communities, and on other questions concerning their life and work. The forms of personal expression of views by working people and citizens include, for example: workers' assemblies (in organisations of associated labour); assemblies of working people and citizens (in local communities); workers' assemblies in self-managing communities of interest, etc.; referenda (in organisations of associated labour, local communities, socio-political communities, etc.); pre-nominating and nominating assemblies called in connection with the election of delegations to the assemblies of socio-political communities; the election of delegations; signing self-management agreements (adoption of self-management agreements pertaining to workers' mutual relations in associated labour); etc.

POLITICAL CHAMBER
(političko veće)

The assembly system of Yugoslavia makes provision not only for delegates' chambers but also political chambers (which may have different names in the assemblies of the republics and provinces). These chambers exist only in the commune and republics assemblies and are the political support of the assembly policies and to help synthesize the long-term and short-term, the individual and the common interests of the working class and working people.

POPULAR UNIVERSITY
(narodni univerzitet)

An adult educational and cultural institution existing as a rule in every commune for the purpose of satisfying the educational and cultural needs of the population of that commune.

RESOURCES IN CITIZENS' OWNERSHIP
(sredstva u svojini gradjana)

This term denotes those means of production, land and business buildings which may be owned by private individuals. Such ownership exists on a limited scale in the fields of crafts, the private sector of agriculture, other tertiary activities (services) the right to work with socially-owned resources, etc.

THE RIGHT TO WORK WITH SOCIAL RESOURCES
(pravo rada društvenim sredstvima)

This term denotes the inalienable right of every worker in associated labour working with socially-owned resources to work with such resources for purposes of satisfying his own personal and social needs, and to manage, freely and on equal terms with other workers in associated labour, his labour and the conditions and results thereof. This right includes in particular the right of all workers, together and on equal terms with other workers, to manage the work and business of their organisations of associated labour and the affairs and resources in the totality of relations of social reproduction, to regulate mutual relations in labour, to pool their labour and the socially-owned resources with which they work with other workers in associated labour, to regulate mutual relations in labour and to decide on the rights and obligations stemming from these relations, to decide on income realised in basic organisations of associated labour, and on other forms of pooling their labour and socially-owned resources, and to earn a personal income.

### SELF-MANAGEMENT AGREEMENTS
(samoupravni sporazumi)

They are self-management acts adopted, on equal terms, by workers in organisations of associated labour and by workers in work communities, communities of interest and other self-managing organisations, with a view to regulating and co-ordinating their interests for purposes of a more efficient specialisation of production, the pooling of labour and resources, and the formation of work and other organisations of associated labour. In this way the regulative and intermediary role of the state concerning relations among working people is curtailed. A self-management agreement is only binding on those who have signed or acceded to it.

### SELF-MANAGEMENT BASE
(samoupravna baza)

Designates the activating force of the socio-economic and political system of Yugoslavia. The self-management base consists of the associated direct producers of material goods who exercise the inalienable right to self-management, of the basic organisations of associated labour where the workers directly exercise their self-management rights. The self-management base also comprises all the other working people who work under conditions of self-management. All citizens engaged in self-management also comprise the self-management base of society.

### SELF-MANAGEMENT COMMUNITIES OF INTEREST
(samoupravna interesne zajednice)

They are associations formed by working people directly or through their self-managing organisations and communities, with a view to satisfying their personal and collective needs. Their aim is to link the interests of those who use such services. In self-managing communities of interest users and renderers of services freely exchange their labour (by means of money as the common medium of exchange) to satisfy their needs. According to the Constitution, the assemblies of self-managing communities of interest in the spheres of education, science, culture, health and welfare are authorised to decide, together and on equal terms with the assemblies of the competent socio-political communities (communes, provinces, republics), on all matters falling within these spheres. There are also self-managing communities of interest in the field of housing construction, power production, water resources management, transport, etc.

### SELF-MANAGING ORGANISATIONS AND COMMUNITIES
(samoupravne organizacije i zajednice)

This is a general term which covers organisations of associated labour, banks, insurance communities, agricultural and other co-operatives, contractual organisations of associated labour, self-managing communities of interest, local communities, and work communities performing activities on behalf of state and other agencies and organisations.

### SOCIALIST ALLIANCE OF THE WORKING PEOPLE OF YUGOSLAVIA
(Socijalistički savez radnog naroda Jugoslavije - SSRNJ)

Created in the National Liberation War and socialist revolution under the name of "People's Front", it is a democratic organisation joined on a voluntary basis by all socialistically-minded working people and citizens. This organisation represents the broadest socio-political basis of self-management and wields important influence on society's orientation towards the development of self-management.

### SOCIALIST AUTONOMOUS PROVINCE
(socijalistička autonomna pokrajina)

This term denotes an autonomous socialist self-managing socio-political community making a constituent part of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. Its autonomous rights are defined by the SFRY Constitution and the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. The socialist autonomous provinces have been formed for territories inhabited by a population of mixed ethnic composition (nations and nationalities).

### SOCIAL COMPACT
(društveni dogovori)

Social compacts are self-management enactments adopted, on equal terms, by organisations of associated labour and their associations, self-managing communities of interest and other self-managing organisations and communities, agencies of socio-political communities, trade unions and other socio-political and social organisations, by which the parties thereto regulate socio-economic and other relations of common concern, as well as relations of general concern to the community. The purpose of social compacts is to replace the state's role in the resolution of social contradictions and to ensure co-operation and solidarity in the economic and other spheres of life. Social compacts are binding upon the parties which have concluded or acceded to them, and must be in conformity with the Constitution and Statute.

## SOCIAL HOUSING CONSTRUCTION
(društveno usmerena stambena izgradnja)

Housing construction for pre-known user on the basis of social compacts and self-management agreements as well as of planned and programmed housing needs in the basic organisation of associated labour or in the association of communities of interest for housing matters, where the play of market laws is excluded.

## SOCIAL ORGANISATIONS
(društvene organizacije)

Are associations of persons organised with a view to pursuing their specific interests, performing specific social affairs and developing various activities of general social interest (welfare-humanitarian, cultural, scientific, technical, tourist, sports and other similar organisations). In its broader sense, the term also includes socio-political organisations.

## SOCIO-POLITICAL COMMUNITIES
(društveno-političke zajednice)

Are politico-territorial communities in which working people and citizens exercise the constitutionally-defined functions of power and management of other social affairs concerning their collective and/or general social interests, including the direction and co-ordinating of social development (the federation, republics, autonomous provinces, regional and municipal communities).

## SOCIO-POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS
(društveno-političje organizacije)

Are political associations of working people organised on a programmed, socialistically-oriented platform (the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia, the Confederation of Trade Unions, the Veterans Federation and the Union of Socialist Youth).

### SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

(socijalisticka republika)

This term denotes a constituent state of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia inhabited by one or more Yugoslav nations.

### SOCIAL REPRODUCTION

(društvena reprodukcija)

This term is used to denote the process of maintenance and development of society as a whole and covers both production and other activities aimed at the satisfaction of the interests and needs of working people, citizens and the community as a whole, including educational, scientific, cultural, health, welfare and other activities carried out with a view to ensuring social development and advancing the living conditions of the people. Social reproduction includes both the continuation of production on an unchanged scale (simple reproduction) and the continuous expansion of production in line with the rise in society's needs (expanded reproduction).

### SOCIAL RESOURCES

(društvena sredstva)

The term covers all resources used in production and all other resources of associated labour; products created by associated labour; income generated by associated labour; means for the satisfaction of collective and general social needs; natural resources and goods in public use. Such resources are managed by the workers who operate them, in accordance with the constitution and law. Social resources include both the resources of organisations of associated labour and the resources of banks, communities of life and property insurance, organisations of business associations, self-managing communities of interest, local communities, socio-political communities. Socio-political organisations and other statutorily-defined social organisations may also acquire social resources and use them in the pursuit of their aims and tasks. The rights, obligations and responsibilities concerning the disposal, use and management of social resources are defined by the Constitution and law in conformity with the nature and purpose of such resources.

### SOCIAL SELF-PROTECTION

(društvena samozaštita)

A term which covers activities performed by working people, citizens, organisations of associated labour and other self-managing organisations and communities, socio-political organisations and other organisations, with a view to protecting constitutional order. These activities are primarily aimed at safeguarding socially-owned means of production and self-management, protecting the rights and freedoms of man and the citizen, ensuring the personal and property security of working people and citizens, and ensuring free social development.

### SYSTEM OF CONSULTATION FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF SOCIAL COMPACT AND SELF-MANAGEMENT AGREEMENT

(sistem društvenog dogovaranja i samoupravnog sporazumevanja)

The integral system established by the Constitution consisting of:

a) self-management compacts and agreements in the work of organisations;
b) consultations for the achievement of compact and agreement among self-managed work organisations, their communities and associations;
c) consultations for the achievement of compact and agreement within the frameworks of, and also between, socio-political communities (communes, republics, provinces and the federation).

The basis of the entire system is the inalienable right of the working people to self-management.

### TENANT'S RIGHTS

(stanarski pravo)

The right of the citizen to permanent occupancy of a socially-owned dwelling under conditions laid down by the law.

### WORK COMMUNITY

(radna zajednica)

This term denotes communities made up of workers who in organisations of associated labour perform administrative, technical, professional and similar activities of common concern to several basic organisations operating within an organisation of associated labour, or who perform such activities in a peasant or other kind of co-operative; communities made up of workers in organisations of business associations, banks and communities of life and property insurance, unless they are organised as basic organisations of associated labour; and communities made up of workers carrying out activities on behalf of other self-managing organisations and communities, associations of citizens, or organs of socio-political communities.

WORK ORGANISATION
(radna organizacija)

This term denotes a form of the pooling of labour and resources in which workers are linked by their common interests in work (in this case the work organisation is composed of several basic organisations of associated labour); or are directly linked through the unity of the labour process (in this case the work organisation has no basic organisation of associated labour). A work organisation is an independent, self-managing organisation of associated labour.

WORKERS
(radnici)

This term is used to denote those people who work with socially-owned means of production. It covers all persons who work in organisations of associated labour and in work communities which conduct affairs on behalf of other self-managing organisations and communities, socio-political and other social organisations, associations of citizens and organs of socio-political communities, as well as workers employed by private employers.

WORKING PEOPLE
(radni ljudi)

This term covers all persons who live from their labour. In addition to workers in associated labour and workers employed by private employers, the term also includes persons who with their own personal labour regularly perform artistic or other cultural activities or free professions; farmers and members of their households engaged in farming; other persons who with their personal labour and with resources in citizens' ownership independently carry out an artisanal activity; and temporarily unemployed.

WORKERS UNIVERSITY
(radnički univerzitet)

An educational and cultural institution in which the workers acquire general, specialised and ideological-political knowledge and satisfy part of their cultural needs.

## THE OECD EXAMINERS

| | |
|---|---|
| Professor A.H. HALSEY<br>(Rapporteur) | Director, Department of Social and Administrative Studies, University of Oxford, United Kingdom |
| Mr. K.N. JONES<br>(Chairman) | Secretary, Federal Department of Education, Canberra, Australia |
| Mr. M. O'KEEFE | Senior Vice-President, The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, Washington, United States |

## MEMBERS OF THE YUGOSLAV DELEGATION

| | |
|---|---|
| Mr. Milan Milutinović<br>Head of Delegation | Secretary for Education and Science of the Republic of Serbia |
| Mr. Peter Mandić | Professor, University of Sarajevo |
| Dr. Berica Marentić-Pozarnik | Professor, University of Ljubljana |
| Mr. Gradislav Milenović | Director of the Bureau for Innovations in Education of the Republic of Serbia |
| Dr. Milenko Nikolić | President of the Yugoslav Commission for UNESCO |
| Dr. Berislav Šefer | Professor, University of Belgrade and member of the Board of the Federal Assembly for Planning and Development |
| Mr. Vlastimir Stamenović | Assistant Director of the Federal Administration for International Scientific, Educational, Cultural and Technical Co-operation (FAISECTC), Belgrade |
| Mr. Nikolai Potkonjak | Professor, University of Belgrade |

## Part One

## THE EXAMINERS' REPORT

# I

# THE YUGOSLAV CONTEXT

To be young in Yugoslavia is to inherit a tradition of potentially bewildering complexity. Old customs and new ideas compete and combine to attract the loyalty of the growing child. The agrarian economy of centuries is rapidly moving towards a modern industrialism in towns and cities which have characteristically extended a medieval centre to an encircling suburbia of 'high rise' flats. An ancient Christianity is overlaid by a recent and restless Communism. Old inequalities retreat before the advance of experiments in the democratisation of power and decision. Equality makes insistent claims on behalf of workers, women, and the right to a distinctive survival of ethnic groups with their own languages and territories. The long history of invasion, political dependency and that fragmentation which the word 'Balkans' symbolised in the past have given way to an enthusiastic identification with a Yugoslavia offering a blend of national unity and social progress with republican and provincial autonomy and independent variety. The context, in short, is vivid and its people show an unusual confidence in their collective future.

Thus the Yugoslav child's mother tongue may be one of several official languages - Serbo-Croat, Macedonian, Slovene, Hungarian, Albanian, Rumanian or Ruthenian. In any case, the school guarantees that the child will be taught in the language of his family as well as giving him opportunity to acquire the other languages of his environment(1).

The school, in other words, accepts his familial inheritance, and on that basis offers to educate him as a Yugoslav. It thus tries to be an agent of integration for each new generation, preparing for citizenship, work, life and leisure in a society irretrievably different from that of any past generation. Yet the school does not and cannot act alone. Social consciousness and personal character

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1) 400,000 elementary (8-year compulsory schooling) school children attend classes in which instruction is given in the language of nine nationalities (Albanian, Bulgarian, Czech, Italian, Hungarian, Rumanian, Ruthenian, Slovak and Turkish).

are shaped by the forces of fission and fusion in society as a whole; indeed by every social encounter with other children, priests, parents and policemen, tourists and television personalities. To assess the impact of the schools and universities we must therefore also appraise the wider context and set the role of formal education in the larger perspective of social reproduction and upbringing.

That task was daunting and probably beyond the competence of a short visit. We can offer in this first chapter only the most tentative of sketches, concentrating in the following chapters on more detailed drawing of the formal system of education, searching for questions against the background of our knowledge of other OECD countries.

The sketch of Yugoslav upbringing could be based on our direct observations. We saw infants playing happily in a pre-school under the guidance and cajoling of a young woman; we saw boys puzzling over an electrical circuit diagram in an elementary school; we watched students taking notes on Marxist theory in a university lecture theatre. More casually, we watched boys playing football with goal posts roughly painted against a monastery wall. We listened to girls singing Yugoslav folk songs on the steps of the cathedral at Dubrovnik. The same evening we saw the same girls in the town square, swaying in response to the latest 'rock band' playing music imported from Nashville, Tennessee.

Inside the cathedral an old man prayed before the crucifix. A day or two before we saw the six-hour queue of people from all over Yugoslavia filing past to pay their last respects to Josip Broz Tito. We were with children visiting a memorial at Kragujevac where 7,000 patriots were murdered by the occupying army of the Fascists on 23 October 1941. The message to the children was of remembrance of the dead and salute to the living. The crucifix, the coffin, and the memorial are dramatic instruction to the child that past heroism and sacrifice laid the foundation for his future hope. In a village in Vojvodina aging partisans sang to us their patriotic songs. We heard the National Opera Company perform Turandot in Belgrade, and we listened to the chanting of Roman Catholics in their church in Novi-Sad, as well as the amiable singsong of revellers in an open-air restaurant in Zagreb. The children take in all these messages, sacred and secular, in and out of school, and traditions are renewed and remade.

Our job was to make sense of it all - to attempt to understand the world of the girl who greeted us in English, whose mother spoke only Hungarian, whose grandmother was an illiterate peasant from Macedonia, and whose future lies in the self-managed federation of Yugoslavia. The federation is unique. But in its educational aspect it must be seen against the broader common features of educational expansion in Europe and North America.

## The OECD pattern of development

In the OECD countries, generally and typically, educational expansion has followed a broadly similar pattern in association with the development of industry and politics. Industrialisation pulled and democratised politics pushed education into providing opportunities for entry to an increasingly skilled and 'non-manual' structure of occupations. In retrospect, throughout Western Europe and North America, the twin forces of industrialisation and political incorporation of wider segments of the population provided the economic resources and the political drive to expand education. At the same time, aided by demographic change in the shape of an inverse relation between social status and fertility, education also emerged more clearly as an avenue of upward mobility between the occupational positions of fathers and sons. Consequently, education in industrial countries was widely seen as both the source of wealth (human capital) and the means of freedom: it was accordingly an important plank in the platform of liberal and progressive reform from the middle of the nineteenth to the middle of the twentieth century. First, universal primary education was the typical goal of nineteenth-century reform. Then, in the early part of the twentieth century, came the drive towards expansion of secondary schooling, followed, third, by its universalisation, and fourth, in what now looks like the final flourish of educational enthusiasm, by a massive development of higher education in the 1950s and 1960s. Some countries like the United States, Canada and Sweden, travelled further and faster along this path than did others: but the direction of the journey was everywhere the same and progress along it defined modernity even if in the later stages the policy of educational expansion had to be defended more as an adornment to economic growth than as a means to its achievement. Meantime universal primary and secondary education - a ten-year compulsory schooling - has become the norm with at least one-quarter, or in some cases more than half, of secondary-school graduates going on to some form of post-secondary education.

The picture in recent years has shifted dramatically. There is now widespread scepticism with respect to the wealth-creating capacity of education, and widespread resistance to its further financial support. Pessimism abounds concerning the power of education to equalise life-chances, between classes, regions, ethnic groups or sexes - at least as a policy isolated from other egalitarian policies. The efficacy of bureaucratised schooling is challenged. Still more important, the whole historically-determined relation of education to work is widely contested, leading to experiments with, and debate over, the various forms of continuing education or "*l'éducation permanente*".

One further feature of this remarkable history of educational expansion must be emphasised. It has been overwhelmingly a state enterprise. Religious and private organisation of schools and colleges survives with varying degrees of social significance in most OECD countries. Indeed in some, a privileged private sector may be of re-emerging importance. But the dominant influence and source of financial support is everywhere the state, and the system is everywhere formidably bureaucratic, combining professional and administrative experts in hierarchical formations to link government at one end with students and pupils at the other.

## Yugoslav development

These common features set the stage but they do not rigorously determine the plot of Yugoslav development. In an important sense the 22 million inhabitants of Yugoslavia see themselves as having been collectively reborn in 1947 when the travail of early post-war reconstruction was ended and the first five-year development plan was adopted. A qualitative shift in the nature of Yugoslav society has taken place in the thirty years subsequent to 1980, and rapid change still continues.

Much of what went before has been forgotten. Before the Second World War Yugoslavia was an underdeveloped country towards the top of the bottom quarter of the world in terms of GNP per capita. We would not wish to pay overmuch respect to modern conventional economic measures of wealth and welfare, but they do capture part of the story of development. Over half of the Yugoslav people were illiterate. Three-quarters of them worked in agriculture. The average life expectancy was 45 years. The republics and regions were politically fragmented and economically largely stagnant. But old battles, movements and enmities are as obscure now as the names of their proponents. Turkish and Austrian imperialism, Venetian dominance, Serbian hegemony, Radic's Croatian Peasant Party, pre-war politicians like Pasić, Masec, Kovosec, Davidović or Cverković, even King Alexander, Prince Paul and Mihailović have been overshadowed by the immense figure of Josip Broz Tito, whose image appears everywhere in school classrooms, public buildings, and popular books, marking the identity of a new Yugoslavia.

What is remembered is the liberation struggle of World War II, the formation of a socialist federal republic, the break with Stalin, the pursuit of non-alignment abroad, and, above all, of rapid economic and social development at home towards a distinctive form of democratic and decentralised Communism.

Initially after the War the economy and society were controlled by centralised management and planning. A transition then took place and continues towards socialist democracy on the principle of self-management which we discuss in detail in Chapter II in its application to education. It is a Communism which takes seriously the original Marxist idea of the withering away of the state, leaving economic organisations and social activities to evolve and survive by free exchange of labour between groups which afford full participation in decisions to their members who elect delegates to represent them in negotiations with other groups. This system of interchange, so central to the Yugoslav idea of social development, will also occupy us in Chapter II.

Post-war economic growth (1947-1977) was at an annual rate of 6.2 per cent, yielding a sixfold increase in real terms, and a fourfold per capita increase when the population increase of 6 millions is taken into account. Development was fastest in the industrial areas, and was uneven between some of the republics like Slovenia and some of the provinces like Kosova. The manufacturing and tertiary sectors of the economy increased rapidly and by 1977 agriculture claimed only 31 per cent of the work force, some 8 million people having meanwhile migrated to the towns and to industrial and service employment. In the process small family patterns emerged, and the rate of population increase fell in the mid-1960s. Nearly half of the Yugoslav population is now urban. Some retain firm bonds of kinship and affection for a village in Herzegovena or Montenegro: others have only sentimental attachment to a rural ancestry expressed perhaps in possession of a small villa in the country. Most are strongly identified with their urban commune or workplace where they feel responsibly involved in the creation of a better future for themselves and their children. Nevertheless, these people are essentially mobile - geographically, occupationally and culturally. Both the need and the opportunity to adapt are keenly felt. Work abroad is perhaps the outstanding example of this combination of mobility and Yugoslav identity. About 800,000 Yugoslavs are temporarily abroad as Gastarbeiter in West Germany, or in other countries. But the definition of this situation is that it is temporary, that eventual return is to be assumed and to be facilitated, and that meanwhile it is a responsibility of the home republic or province to ensure comparable educational provision for its children abroad in addition to the efforts of the Workers' Universities to disseminate adult education and training to the workers themselves.

Material progress has been steady. Net personal income per worker by 1978 was 5,085 dinars per month. Average life expectancy is now 67 years for men, and 72 for women. Illiteracy is rare among those under 35. The majority of families live in new, if small, flats. A minority of the urban population also own houses in the country, 60 per cent of the households have television. Almost everyone is visibly well-fed, some middle-aged men too visibly so. Young people dress smartly. Department stores and shops are amply stocked and carry on a brisk trade. Above all, the children run about vigorously in good clothes and good health, well nourished with protein and fruit juices.

So the picture in 1980 is of a prosperous and polyglot nation. It is in no sense a still picture. The journey to a stateless, self-managed socialism remains en passage, and difficulties and unfinished business remain. Yugoslavia's per capita income is as yet lower than the OECD European average by 2½ times. There are problems of an adverse balance of foreign trade, and the rate of inflation is higher than that of other Communist countries in Eastern Europe.

Over the first four months of 1980 inflation accelerated to an annual rate of 26 per cent and the trade deficit to $2.35 billion. In 1979 exports covered only 50 per cent of imports. They were not covered by the invisible exports of tourism and money sent home by emigrants. In consequence, the federal government decided to devalue by 30 per cent in June 1980. One contribution to inflationary pressure is alleged to be the tendency of self-managing enterprises to vote wage and salary increases in excess of productivity gains.

No one inside or outside Yugoslavia can assume an assured and uninterrupted path to peace and prosperity. The traditional threat of disruption from without must continue to exist for a country poised between East and West and seeking actively to lead the non-aligned countries. Disruption from within is similarly always possible in a country so recently united after so long a fragmentation, and where the deliberate aim is to secure social accord not by the coercion of the state but by the free interchange of autonomous and interdependent communities. The balance between anarchy and autonomy, between regional freedom and federal control, between the market and the bureaucrat, citizen and Party member, is one of delicate complexity.

Indications of disharmony between educational expansion and the labour market are contained in the statistics of unemployment, including youth unemployment: there are 700,000 waiting for jobs alongside 400,000 job vacancies. Moreover, economic development remains uneven between regions, setting problems of capital and labour mobility which depend partly on arrangements for redistribution through the solidarity funding of the republics, and partly on the schools and universities which are responsible for an appropriately differentiated supply of labour and technology. Thus economic and educational development are not automatically aligned, and it is the latter to which we must finally turn.

## Yugoslav educational development

The Yugoslav history of educational development has followed the common OECD country pattern of expansion to arrive at what is now virtual completion of 10-year primary and secondary schooling, with a variegated structure of post-secondary opportunities: but it also has distinctive features. After a late start, progress has been rapid with relatively high expenditure. A general education in Marxist doctrine, albeit in distinctive Yugoslav form, permeates the system from the nursery school to the university faculty. A vocationally-directed emphasis of secondary and higher education is developing strongly. There is multi-lingual instruction derived from the basic right to learning in one's mother tongue - a right which is also extended to the 72,000 children living in the families of Yugoslav workers abroad in eleven foreign countries. There is self-management, also developing strongly, which distinguishes Yugoslavia sharply not only from other federal countries, but also from Russian etatism and from the alternative possible (but nowhere wholly realised) market system.

These radical departures from the OECD mould are, in other words, an experiment in what could be called market socialism. We shall discuss this Yugoslav principle of social and educational organisation in Chapter II and apply it to the stages of education in Chapters III, IV and V. Meanwhile, we must emphasise that the Yugoslav education system as it now is continues to exhibit more conventional or familiar features of European and North American countries and that discussion of the more distinctive aspects is, in part at least, a discussion of future intentions rather than current realities.

Economic development, as we have indicated, was first delayed and then, after the revolutionary convulsion of World War II, purposefully swift. It was never an isolated or exclusive aim but, ab initio, embedded in a wider aspiration towards social and political transformation in which education was accorded a pivotal role, running ahead of industrial growth per se. Thus the share of resources from national income rose from 2.4 per cent to 6 per cent in the 25 years up to 1977. The tasks in this period were, first, to secure a place for every child in eight years of elementary schooling from age 7 to age 15. Second, there have been efforts to extend 100 per cent enrolment downwards into pre-school and (much more successfully) upwards into two years of secondary school. Third, there has been a systematic drive towards democratising access to higher secondary and particularly vocational education. Finally, and in parallel, the needs of those born, so to speak, too-early to enjoy these educational transformations have not been neglected. The elementary and secondary schools, as well as the workers' universities, have made impressive efforts in adult education - general, political and vocational - so as to raise the educational level of the whole population.

By 1974, enrolment in elementary schools in fact covered 95 per cent of the 7-15 age group, and 90 per cent of all children were going on into the secondary schools. By this time, too, pre-schooling had developed from virtually nothing to cover one child in every six, and at the upper end just over one half of the 15-18-year-olds were attending secondary institutions, and nearly one half of those who finished secondary school were going on to universities or to some other two-year or four-year school of higher learning. One measure of this aspect of expansion is that the number of students in higher education had multiplied 25 times compared with the pre-war period and accounted for 12.4 per cent of the 19-25 age group.

These statistics, looked at in Table 1, from the point of view of their impact on the educational level of the population as a whole, are sufficient to indicate that Yugoslavia had made a successful effort out of relatively slender economic resources to match the scale and to exceed the pace of educational expansion in other European OECD countries. If this were the whole story, it would be remarkable enough in itself. But it is not the whole story, and the further and greater interest of the Yugoslav experience lies in its distinctive features of governance, funding, access and curriculum. Again, our detailed discussion must be deferred to the following chapters on the successive phases of the educational process. But some aspects of the general context of problems warrant introductory remarks.

Table 1

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF POPULATION AGED OVER 10 YEARS

| | | 1953 | 1961 | 1971 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0 to 3 years in Elementary | (000s) | 5632 | 4864 | 4091 |
| | (%) | 42.1 | 33.4 | 24.2 |
| 4 to 7 years in Elementary | (000s) | 6161 | 7093 | 7146 |
| | (%) | 46.0 | 48.6 | 42.3 |
| 8 years in Elementary | (000s) | 556 | 1068 | 2548 |
| | (%) | 4.1 | 7.5 | 15.1 |
| Secondary Schooling | (000s) | 877 | 1365 | 2575 |
| | (%) | 6.6 | 9.3 | 15.2 |
| Post-Secondary | (000s) | 81 | 196 | 473 |
| | (%) | 0.6 | 1.3 | 2.8 |

Source: Report on Yugoslav Education of FAISECTC, Belgrade, 1980.

Perhaps the essential point is that Yugoslav education is interesting not so much for what it is as for what it is becoming and intends to become. The standard OECD pattern, and indeed even more that of the Russian Communist block, is of a system initiated, funded, administered and controlled by the state. In the early years after the war, Yugoslavia followed the same path and still today one can identify some of the same traditional features. There remains a federal system of law and administration, the former laying down a constitutional framework for schools and universities, the latter monitoring and encouraging the realisation of nationally-agreed programmes for reform. The difference is, however, that not only has education in Yugoslavia been devolved to the republics and the provinces but much more radical decentralisation has taken place towards autonomy of each single educational institution as a 'unit of associated labour' controlled by those who are directly served by or directly produce education through 'communities of interest' ranging from communes which look after the local elementary school to higher education communities of interest who watch over the affairs of the university faculties.

Thus in education as in other aspects of economy and society, the ultimate aim is to achieve a powerful society with a minimal state. Obviously such a development raises problems. A strong centre can plan and deliver whatever is thought to be the appropriate level and substance of educational service: it can assess the national need for qualified teachers, buildings, and pedagogical materials. It can ensure their equitable distribution throughout the country. It can attempt, as post-revolutionary Russia has done, to forecast manpower needs and make appropriate arrangements for education and training. Of course, social markets of the kind being fashioned in Yugoslavia can also relate these various supplies to their demands. Moreover, it is essential to the idea of devolved socialist self-management that the priorities and distributions thus obtained more faithfully reflect the wishes of the people directly affected than can any system of bureaucratic or party-political representation.

Yet the questions remain, and the pragmatist will insist on them. Does the new system work? Is it efficient? Is the cost of tedious meetings over long agendas compensated by the satisfactions of participation and the mirroring of popular will? Are the delegates too amateur to exercise effective power, and if so, is not the result the same as in the more familiar systems run by politicians and bureaucrats, except that the time of more people is consumed and decision is delayed? Is there perhaps a system behind the democratic process where substantive influence, if not formal power, is exercised by the League of Communists and other organised political and social minorities? Is democracy in any form capable of giving sufficient recognition to the value of minority claims? For example, can poets, philosophers, ancient historians or pure scientists ever persuade the lay democratic majority of their unmarketable value?

Does democracy in the Yugoslav form of self-governing republics, regions, communes, enterprises and schools emerge in reality as a new pattern of inequality based on differences of economic power in the market place and cultural power from different traditions? Is the necessarily varying economic and organisational strength of different republics, provinces, communities and enterprises inversely related to educational need and therefore a self-maintaining source of unequal educational and cultural opportunity? Or are the spirit of Yugoslav fraternity and the arrangements for solidarity funds sufficient to overcome market and cultural inequalities?

These are difficult and challenging questions to those who take upon themselves the responsibility of directing the social development of any nation, whether as autocrats or democrats, politicians or professionals, commissars or citizens. We shall formulate them with more precise reference to Yugoslav education below. In this introductory and contextual chapter we have sought to emphasise the special circumstances in which they are being asked.

We have been much impressed by the enthusiasm and confidence with which our Yugoslav hosts asked themselves these questions - the question in summary of how to tread the road to a better society for their children. We were in no way surprised to hear worries expressed concerning the quality of teachers in rapidly expanding schools, the general shortage of funds in relation to the recognised need of the people, the conservatism of university teachers under pressure to carry out radical reform, the persistence of traditional educational preference among parents for their children and students for themselves despite a rapidly changing labour market and occupational need, the imperfect fit of labour supply to labour demand under conditions where free choice of education and vocation is accepted as a fundamental individual right. All these are familiar anxieties in all OECD countries.

The excitement of Yugoslavia lies not in these oecumenical difficulties but in the social strategy for their solution. Our hosts believe in their map of the future. A young Marxist economist employed by the federal administration took us to see a museum of religious art and artefacts in Belgrade where we were shown round by a priest of similar age. One of us asked the modern economist whether he thought that the new society could ever match the cultural achievements of the old. "They", he replied, "had 2,000 years; we have had 35", and he smiled, acknowledging the challenge and confident in his resolve to meet it.

# II

## SELF-MANAGEMENT AND THE ORGANISATION OF EDUCATION

Confidence and resolve in Yugoslavia have been strong enough to support a deliberate experiment in new forms of economic, social and political life. Therein lies the thrust and interest of Yugoslav social history since 1947. Our task in this chapter is to describe the intentions of experiment, to explain the guiding principle of self-management, and to review the translation of principle into practice in the economy and in government. We shall then come directly to the application of self-management to education - at once an end and a major means of reform. The task is complex and its ramifications will take us further in the following chapters to show both the variety and the degree of consistency of the relation between theory and practice as it appears in the different republics and provinces and at the different stages of the educational system.

### THE AIMS OF REFORM

The report prepared by the Yugoslav government to aid us in our visit contains a detailed description of the history of reform since 1947. From that document, which for brevity we have called The Belgrade Report, and from our discussions with our hosts, we would abstract three essential goals of reform:

1. To decentralise power, authority, and control in all aspects of Yugoslav society.
2. To ensure that the worker, as the ultimate source of economic strength in the society, has control over his own destiny, and is not exploited by others or by the society at large.
3. To link the economy and the social services, including education, so that the latter are as responsive as possible to the needs of the former.

The Yugoslavs are determined to shape their society as a devolved democracy, minimising the power and governance of the federal state. Indeed, in their view the ideal social order would be one in which the state has "withered away" and society would maintain itself through free and equal exchanges among individual workers and groups of workers. The strength of this determination has two principal and distinct roots.

First, it is a result of the particular socialist ideology espoused by the Yugoslavs. Hierarchical management structures and large and unresponsive bureaucracies are seen as exploiting rather than serving the worker. It is the worker who creates or develops economic goods. Yet managers and central government accumulate and exercise the power which the workers' efforts produce, through what is referred to as "the administrative manner of decision-making". If left to develop unchecked, bureaucracies inevitably misuse this power. They ultimately exploit rather than serve the worker. To avoid this reversal of means and ends, the objective of Yugoslav reforms has been to shift power and authority away from higher levels and towards more decentralised groups of workers, and finally to the individual worker himself. Liberty is thus sought in a socialist framework of community.

The persistent efforts in Yugoslavia to decentralise political authority also derive from another, more pragmatic concern. We have sketched Yugoslavia in our first chapter as a nation of astonishing heterogeneity in which six republics and two autonomous provinces are bound together in an essentially voluntary confederation. The robust ethnic, linguistic, and religious admixture of peoples finds expression in a fierce sense of independence and local autonomy. Because of this diversity and the attendant strong sense of independence, any attempt to create a national unity based on uniformity and homogeneity would be likely to fail and lead, ultimately, to disintegration of the country.

Yugoslavia has emerged as a unified nation out of fragmentation through invasion, fission, conquest and re-conquest. Led by Tito, supported by popular affection for him, sustained by shared memories of the suffering which war visits upon a nation, and building upon rather than denying the diversity of its people, the Yugoslavs have recognised that their ultimate strength as a nation depends upon finding a way to enhance the sense of local or regional autonomy without at the same time weakening Yugoslavia as a nation. The history of government in Yugoslavia over the past thirty years is the record of their practical - and for the most part successful - efforts to accomplish this goal.

Strengthening the links between education and the economy is another major goal of the Yugoslavs. By establishing a direct relationship between those who produce and those who educate, a number of ends are achieved. First, the productive workers, the fruits of whose labours support education, are given more direct control over the content of education. Because they are directly involved in the economy and therefore are most aware of its needs, the workers' involvement in the management of education will ensure that the curriculum will be sensitive to the changing needs of the economy. Secondly, a direct relationship between those who support education and those who provide it will remove control of the allocation of funds within education from the hands of the always suspect central bureaucracies. The "middleman" between the worker and the schools can then be eliminated. Finally, and in the same process, social service enterprises such as schools will become more like factories or business enterprises. In the market place of the economy, workers who produce goods sell them to others who want to buy them at a price agreeable to both parties. The worker is rewarded to the extent that the fruits of his efforts result in a product which is valued by others. By contrast, in the hierarchical, bureaucratic fashion of social services in most other societies, the provider of services has a greater incentive to be responsive to his bureaucrat superiors than to those for whom the service is provided. In this way, bureaucracy itself flourishes at the expense of those whom it is intended to serve and on whose labour it ultimately depends. By creating a direct link, workers in education are in effect exposed to a social "market place" in which they will be rewarded only to the extent that they are responsive to the expressed needs of those they serve.

To implement these goals, Yugoslavia since the late 1950s has undertaken a series of reforms in the government of territories, enterprises, schools and public services. The result of numerous changes - culminating most recently in the Constitution of 1974 - is an elaborate complex of structures at the local, provincial, republican and federal levels. To the newcomer, as no doubt to the child, they are at first baffling in their variety. But they are informed by a consistent and exciting theory to the key concepts of which we must now turn. The terminology involved is unlikely to be found in an anthology of elegant phrases from modern literature; but we would certainly expect to find it in any serious grammar of modern politics.

## SELF-MANAGEMENT: THE HEART OF YUGOSLAV SOCIALISM

No discussion of society, the economy, government, or the schools in Yugoslavia proceeds without repeated references to the concept of "self-management". It is the most ubiquitous term in the Yugoslav political lexicon. It appeared on banners and flags to rally the partisans in World War II. It so permeates the society that understanding the concept and learning the skills to practise it are essential for a citizen of modern-day Yugoslavia. It is the fundamental concept which epitomises the independence and the self-directed nature of the Yugoslav people. As we ourselves learnt to refer to 'self-managing communities of interest', our hosts smiled and applauded our serious effort to understand the spirit of their social purpose. The essence of self-management is that all those who work in an enterprise - a factory, a business, a school - share as equals in the authority and power of running it. Participatory decision-making includes determining what to produce or what services to offer, pricing those goods or services, setting salaries, and selecting supervisors or managers. Not every worker is fully incorporated into the self-managing economy for there remains a non-socialist sector, notably in small-scale farming. Nevertheless, the principle of self-management is intended - in theory at least - to be carried out at every level and in every operating unit of the society.

In the smallest and economically simplest unit, the concept of self-management translates into straightforward practice. The self-managing group of workers who run, for example, a restaurant, meet, as a group, to decide what menu to offer, what the prices of the various dishes will be, when to be open, and who will wait on tables and who will wash the dishes. If people patronise the restaurant and the enterprise is successful, there will be money left over after expenses which is then distributed to the workers as salaries.

Organisation on such a small scale permits a total and direct democracy. Self-management becomes more complex, however, when larger organisations are involved and every worker cannot in practice be consulted about all policies. Then representative democracy must be built on direct democracy. Hierarchies are required and mechanisms must be devised to make those hierarchies the servants rather than the masters of the workers in the enterprise. Complications also ensue in the case of public services, such as government or education, in which the relationship of the enterprise to the "market place" is neither direct nor immediate. Prices emerge not from economic supply and demand but from a process of social persuasion and agreement.

Another term which is frequently encountered is the self-management organisation. This is a generic label for any group of workers brought together and organised for the purpose of managing an enterprise. The enterprise may be in the economic sector - a factory or other business. Government at both the community and higher levels is also arranged into self-management organisations, as are various social service activities such as schools. Finally, the socio-political organisations of Yugoslavia - the League of Communists, the Social Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia, the Confederation of Trade Unions, and the Union of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia - are also organised into self-managing groups. The vocabulary of self-management is not, however, standardised. Within each sector, different terms are used to denote the self-management organisation at the local level and at the various aggregated levels. Nevertheless, with the essential words defined, we can notice significant variants in our account of the application of them.

## SELF-MANAGEMENT IN THE ECONOMY

Understanding how education is organised, financed, and managed in Yugoslavia is facilitated by an understanding of how the concept of self-management is implemented in the economy and in the government. The translation of the theory of self-management into practice is more straightforward and therefore easier to understand in factories and businesses than it is in social service institutions. Also, workers in factories and businesses are accorded a special role in socialist society. Decisions in the financing and curriculum of the schools are heavily and directly influenced by workers in the economic sector. The conduct of the schools thus derives essentially from the workplace, and is directly affected by the mechanisms through which the workers make their views known.

In the economy of Yugoslavia, the smallest unit of production is the basic organisation of associated labour ("BOAL"). A basic organisation of associated labour can be a small factory or business enterprise such as a restaurant or a grocery shop, or it can be the smallest organised unit of a larger economic enterprise. A larger enterprise - one which is made up of a number of basic organisations of associated labour - is usually referred to as an organisation of associated labour. For example, in a large manufacturing plant, major divisions or operating departments would be organised into BOALs, while the entire plant would be regarded as an organisation of associated labour.

All workers, including those who serve as managers, participate in setting the policies of the enterprise. In the smallest unit, the BOAL, all workers are members of the Workers' Council. In the larger organisation of associated labour there is also a Workers' Council. However, because of the size of the enterprise, it does not include all workers, but is composed of delegates elected by the Workers' Councils of the BOALs.

Groups of organisations of associated labour also join together to represent the overall interest of an industry or a general area of economic activity. Such a grouping is referred to as a composite organisation of associated labour. Composite organisations are formed which represent, for example, all metal workers in a given region or province, all railway workers in a republic, and so forth. Thus, the structure of the economy is one of self-management organisations, usually at three levels: the basic organisation of associated labour (as the smallest unit), the organisation of associated labour made up of a number of BOALs and forming a large firm or enterprise, and the composite organisation of associated labour, made up of organisations of associated labour and representing the broader interests of workers in an industry as a whole or in a specific sector of the economy.

In theory, the socialist economy works differently in several important ways from the economies of western capitalist societies. These two forms of production contrast with respect to, first, the manner in which the individual worker relates to the enterprise or basic organisation of associated labour; second, the way in which the individual worker in the BOAL influences policies which are established in the organisation of associated labour or the composite organisation, and third, the fashion in which economic enterprises such as factories and businesses provide support for government and social service activities such as education. In the socialist view, the capitalist society establishes the relationships between the individual worker, his co-workers and the economy in such a way as to put the individual worker at a disadvantage, ultimately leading to his exploitation. Socialist self-management is designed to eliminate such exploitation.

In the capitalist society, the individual is "employed" by the enterprise. From the socialist perspective, this immediately establishes an unequal relationship and begins the exploitation of employee by employer. The inequality of the relationship derives from the fact that the employer either owns or controls capital, with which he hires the worker. Because the employer possesses power while the employee is powerless, the former can - and usually does - exploit the latter.

To avoid this undesired aspect of the employment relationship, people or groups of people do not employ one another under a system of socialist self-management. Rather, individual workers come together in self-management organisations (i.e. BOALs and groups of BOALs) in which every worker has an equal relationship to his fellow workers and to the organisation. Under self-management, the organisation is not some abstract corporate entity owned and controlled by individuals outside of it, but rather consists of the workers themselves in their co-equal relationship with one another. In the language of socialism, the workers, rather than being employed, are said to have an equal labour relationship with one another.

Efforts are also made to free the economic exchange between the buyer and the seller from any aura of exploitation. That transaction, which is referred to as the exchange of labour, is theoretically viewed as a free and co-equal relationship between buyer and seller, in which the good of each is pursued in the transaction. At least in theory, manipulation or exploitation of the seller by the buyer is eliminated.

Another problem facing the socialist architect is the dilemma of hierarchies. Again, he wants to avoid what he sees as the evils of capitalist bureaucracies. But hierarchical organisations seem inescapable, given the sheer magnitude of modern society. Institutions require the creation of representative bodies which can aggregate the views of citizens into common policy-making at higher levels. The purest form of democratic government, the Greek city state, cannot by itself meet the needs of a complex technological world.

The Yugoslavs accept the need for higher level representative groups and, albeit grudgingly, their attendant administrative arms. However, they attempt to impose severe limits on the authority which is vested in such structures and also explicitly tie their power as closely as possible to workers at the local level. Though every sector of society includes aggregate representative groups in the structure of its government, the Yugoslavs insist that there is an important difference between the representative form of government practised in western democracies and the principle of delegation through which their own groups are controlled by their basic units.

The higher deliberative bodies - for example, the Workers' Council in a large factory or business enterprise - are formed by delegates elected by each BOAL within the larger enterprise. As the notion of delegation is understood in Yugoslavia, that delegate is bound to represent precisely the views and policies of the group which elected him. If compromise is needed, it is obtained only by formal consultation through the delegate with the unit to which he reports. In practice, the higher body cannot act without consultation and - at least in principle - until consensus among the constituent units is reached. The ideal is that a decision is reached by the negotiated accord of the constituent BOALs and not by the internal politics of higher level organisations. The higher level body is not the point at which power is concentrated, but rather the forum in which the views of the individual BOALs are presented, negotiated, and agreed. In Yugoslavia, the higher level council does not set policy and impose it on the BOALs and the workers. Rather, the BOALs, through the vehicle of the higher level council, bargain over policies and proposals until a consensus is reached. Power resides with the BOAL, and thus ultimately with the individual worker.

A final and important conceptual distinction between the socialist self-management economy of Yugoslavia and a capitalist economy is the manner in which some portion of the revenues of factories, businesses, and individual workers are tapped for the support of social service enterprises such as education, health and culture. In the capitalist economy, taxes are imposed on workers by a higher level bureaucracy or representative body. In the view of the socialist, such superior legislative or administrative bodies are another form of exploitation which must be eliminated. Yet, somehow, services which do not or cannot generate direct income - such as the building of roads, mandatory and free education, etc. - require resources. Thus, ultimately, some portion of the income produced by the workers in BOALs must be allocated for the support of organised social services.

The practical effect - that some of the "income" of all workers and/or enterprises is appropriated for this purpose - is at least superficially identical with that in western societies. However, the Yugoslavs maintain that three important differences characterise the way the self-management society redistributes resources for such social purposes. First, the taxes collected from the workers in a basic organisation of associated labour (which are not called taxes but "contributions") are established through the delegational consensus-building process just described. Thus the worker, not some distant bureaucrat, is able directly to influence how much the BOAL will contribute. Secondly, as we shall further describe below, the workers themselves, through the structure of the BOAL, participate directly in determining the scope and scale of the social services such as health or education which the fruits of their labour purchase for the society at large. Finally, the contribution by the workers to support government and other social services is not viewed as coming out of their income (as in the withholding of income taxes) but rather is made by the BOAL before salaries are allocated. The worker's wage is determined after the contribution has been made, so that, at least in theory, the worker himself does not pay "taxes".

## SELF-MANAGEMENT IN GOVERNMENT

The governmental structure in Yugoslavia has four principal levels: the commune; the large city or region; the republic or autonomous province (of which there are two); and the federation. At each of these levels, citizens are organised into self-management organisations. However, in government, as in education, the structure is more complex than in the economic sector. The reason for greater complexity is the necessity of insuring effective representation of the various sectors of society. In government, the self-management organisation is called an assembly, and is made up of workers, citizens from local communities, and representatives of the socio-political organisations. These assemblies, which exist at each of the four levels, are divided into three chambers. These include the chamber of associated labour which is made up of delegates elected by composite organisations of associated labour, the chamber of communes made up of delegates elected by the communities in the appropriate geographical area, and the socio-political chamber made up of delegates elected by the socio-political self-management associations.

Each segment of society is accorded an equal role in deciding the policies of the government, since each of the three chambers has co-equal power in the assembly. And, because the delegational system is fully implemented in the assemblies, individual workers have a direct line of influence. In the forum of the assembly, the long-term interests of the separate segments and of the society as a whole can be debated and determined. Because of the delegational system which links each of the chambers to its basic self-management organisation, final decisions fully reflect the views of the individual citizens and workers.

At each level, there is also an executive branch which is established for the purpose of carrying out the policies and programmes of the assembly. Responsible directly to the assembly, the executive branch is headed by an Executive Council which oversees the day-to-day work of government and administration.

An impressive feature of the multiple arrangements of self-managing organisation which the Yugoslavs have created is the vast number of groups which the system requires and the correspondingly large number of people who are therefore involved in the management of all aspects of public life. For example, Vojvodina, one of the two autonomous provinces of Yugoslavia, has a total population of slightly over 2 million people. In this province, the organisations of associated labour and the local communities have about 104,000 delegates to higher level organisations. About 5,000 people serve in the assemblies of the 44 communes into which the province is divided, and about 10,000 people serve as delegates in the chambers of the various assemblies of the regions and the provinces. Approximately 23,000 serve in other assemblies of self-managing communities at the local and provincial levels. Thus, about 140,000 people, or 7 per cent of the population, participate directly in government as delegates or representatives. It should be added that self-management also implies rotation of posts and a limited mandate (as a rule no more than two years) for an individual to occupy a particular post.

## SELF-MANAGEMENT IN EDUCATION

As in the factories, the workers in schools and universities are organised into self-management communities, usually referred to as BOALs in education. The smallest unit of self-management organisation is usually an elementary or secondary school, or a faculty in a college or university. As in the factory, the workers in the school or university, whether they are teachers, researchers or non-professional, are organised into a Workers' Council which deals with issues of importance to all the members.

However, while in the factory there is one self-management organisation (or composite of basic organisations), in schools there is a second group. This is the Governing Council which differs from the Workers' Council in that it includes not only the workers in the school (teachers and administrators), but also citizens of the local community and parents (in elementary schools), or representatives of local work organisations and students (in secondary and post-secondary institutions). The Workers' Council (the BOAL in education) serves as the forum in which teachers come together to formulate their views, as do workers in an industrial enterprise. Together they set guidelines for work in the schools, plan the details of the programme, allocate the budget, and discuss day-to-day policies. The Governing Council, on which delegates from the Workers' Council sit, determines the overall curriculum, elects the Principal, and reviews the financial plan of the school.

The Governing Council, with membership drawn from outside the school, is needed to ensure that the wider interests of society are represented and that the self-managing organisation of education workers is more closely tied to the market place. We have seen that the social service enterprise does not have a clear and direct economic relationship with other parts of the economy. Thus, there is a need to establish a direct relationship (that is, a free exchange of labour) among the providers of a service, the recipients of it, and those who ultimately pay for it.

In the school, one form of exchange of labour takes place in the transaction between teacher and student. But this is only part of the total exchange. The workers, in factories or "productive" enterprises, provide the resources which support the educational enterprise. For this reason, the worker is also a party to the exchange of labour which takes place in educational institutions. Finally, the local community which is served by the school and which, at the elementary level, also contributes support, is another important element. The Governing Council of the school is the mechanism through which these various interests are brought together and reconciled.

It is helpful to note the distinction made by the Yugoslavs between what are termed "productive" workers and "non-productive" workers. Workers in factories or businesses are considered to be "productive workers", since their work results in the direct creation of an economic good, the immediate effect of which is an increment in the overall economic output of the society and an increase in the standard of living for all. In contrast, while they obviously provide a "good" for the society, workers in social service enterprises (hospitals, schools, welfare agencies, etc.) do not add directly to a society's economic product. The worker in the productive enterprise is the ultimate source of the economic goods, while the worker in the non-productive enterprise is, in a sense, a consumer of those goods. Because the productive workers are the source of the society's economic strength and the ultimate supporters or purchasers of social services, such as education, they are accorded a direct role in the management of social service enterprises.

Two caveats should be noted with regard to this distinction between types of workers. First, in the English language the word "non-productive" denotes idleness and therefore activity of lower worth from the point of view of contribution to society. In Yugoslavia, the meaning of the term is different, deriving from the economic concept of "production". Further, those who work in social service enterprises, and even in government are thought to make as valuable a contribution to society as the factory worker. Secondly, the distinction between types of workers should not be taken to imply that the Yugoslavs ignore or deny the ultimate economic effect of education. In fact, as the Belgrade Report shows, education is viewed as an absolutely essential element in the economic development of the country. However, in an economic sense, education is not regarded as having a direct or primary effect on output. The schools educate and train people who, because of that education, become more productive workers. However, productivity is held to be a primary result of the worker's own individual labours and only secondarily due to the work of educators.

At the higher levels of management, the BOALs in the economic sector are grouped into organisations of associated labour which in turn are organised into composite organisations of associated labour. In education, similar groupings are encountered, but again with some important differences. The organisation of associated labour (i.e. the collection of a number of BOALs) in education is either a small territorial or communal grouping of elementary or secondary schools, or in the aggregation of the faculties of a college or university into a Governing Council for the entire institution. Composite organisations are formed at higher levels both for workers in education as well as for the Governing Councils.

These representative groups are composed and operate in much the same way as the various organisations of factory or productive workers. However, for enterprises in the social services and education, there is also another entity at a level above the schools or universities which plays a critical role in setting education policy. This is the self-management community of interest for education. The importance of the self-management community of interest derives from its function as the interface between the wider society and education at which agreements are reached on both the level of funding for education and the specific programmes to be undertaken in the schools.

The self-management community of interest has two chambers: that of the *producers* of the service (i.e. the educators), and that of the *users* of the service (the productive workers). The self-management community of interest is, in practice, composed of delegates elected by the appropriate BOALs in education (i.e. the schools), and by BOALs in the economy (i.e. the factories and businesses). Its major function is to reach formal agreement between the two sectors - the workers in education and the productive workers - identifying the education services to be provided by the former, and the funds to support those services to be supplied by the latter.

In the economic market place, productive workers acquire income by an exchange of goods for money, or through the exchange of labour. In similar fashion, the two groups represented in the self-managing community of interest come together to "buy" and "sell" education, through *a free exchange of labour for social services*. The community of interest has been created to sidestep the state, that is, to effect the linkage and exchange without the mediation of the state as middleman. The exchange takes place through self-management - in the most direct sense of that term - by the workers in the two kinds of enterprise.

Education self-management communities of interest are formed on a territorial basis for elementary schools. The self-management community of interest is made up of BOALs drawn from the factories and businesses in the local community, combined with BOALs from that area's elementary schools. By contrast, the self-managing community of interest for secondary schools and post-secondary institutions other than universities are functionally organised. For example, a vocational school or group of vocational schools will form a self-managing community of interest jointly with appropriate organisations in the agricultural or metal-working sectors of the local economy. Self-management communities of interest are formed for universities at the republican level.

An illustration of how the self-management community of interest actually works might be helpful. The BOALs in education, or their relevant organisation of associated labour, put forward a specific proposal for what educational services (i.e. courses of instruction) are to be provided, and what monies are required to produce them. On the other side, the BOALs from the productive sector (or through the organisation of associated labour) agree among themselves on the resources (i.e. the percentage of income of the BOALs) which they are willing to commit to education.

If, as is likely, the two proposals do not entirely agree, the differences must be negotiated. For example, it is possible that the education workers would ask for more money than the productive workers are willing to give, or that the programme proposed by the education workers does not have the features which the productive workers deem necessary. The proposed curriculum, for example, may not include adequate training programmes in the specific areas the workers feel are needed in their industry or business. If negotiation is necessary, it will involve two specific activities.

First, the assembly of the self-managing community of interest will appoint a negotiating team to try to work out the differences. Second, the delegates to the self-managing community of interest from their respective associated organisations of labour or BOALs will, according to the requirements of the delegational process, confer with the organisations they represent. This process of consultation and bargaining will take place until agreement is reached by the constituent associated organisations of labour, and confirmed in the assembly of the self-managing community of interest.

The result of this process is termed a self-management agreement, and typically includes detailed statements of the amount and quality of services to be provided by the BOALs in education, the price of those services, and a commitment by the BOALs in the productive enterprises to tax themselves commensurately to produce those resources. It will also usually include both a detailed annual plan for the year being addressed, as well as a five-year plan.

It should be noted that ordinarily the self-managing community of interest is not the only source of funds for the schools. Support also comes from the political communities and is negotiated in a similar fashion through self-managing communities of interest formed between the school sector and the assemblies of those communities. In addition, a particular factory or industry (through its appropriate self-management organisation) can enter into a direct relation with a secondary school or Workers' University. Together the two reach an agreement in which the educational institution will provide training programmes for workers at an agreed price to be paid by the factory or industry. Finally the citizens in a given community may decide by referendum to raise funds for a specific educational purpose (for example, construction of a school building or supplying free textbooks and meals). Each citizen is then committed to making a fixed contribution for a specified period of time.

The financing of education through the vehicle of a self-managing community of interest is relatively new, having been specified in its fullest form in the 1974 Constitution. It is regarded by the Yugoslavs as an important innovation for education and other social services. The self-managing community of interest is viewed as the key to relating education workers more closely to a real market place. As a result, the status of education workers is much closer to that enjoyed by the worker in productive enterprises. At the same time, another of the goals of reform is accomplished, namely the elimination of the need for the state in the management of education. Even the amount of each teacher's salary in a given school is determined by the teaching staff in the light of the resources available and agreed criteria for assessing merit. Thus, teachers draw varying salaries both within schools and between schools.

## CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of thirty years of education reform in Yugoslavia has been to change radically the position of education in the socio-economic structure of the country. Starting in 1947 with a structure of education similar to that of Western nations, Yugoslavia has developed its own distinctive approach to the governance of education. In 1947 state control of education was isolated from the workers. Now, the Yugoslavs consider education to be dominated by the self-management concept, with budgeting based on the free exchange of labour, with extensive local control over what is taught and how the schools serve the community, and with full participation by workers in setting the programme and policies of education. There is, in short, a developed and devolved democracy.

Curiosity naturally leads one to question the extent to which self-management actually accomplishes the goals intended. The questions of how organisations or political structures really work, of who really exercises power, are always and everywhere difficult to answer. They are the more intriguing in this instance in which we encounter concepts which differ in important ways from those of the West. It is easy to assume that because a term or concept seems similar to a familiar one, it is identical. Yet often there are critical differences. Similarity is not, in fact, identity.

With these cautions, we would hazard several general observations about the concept of self-management in Yugoslavia. It was apparent to us as we travelled across the country that its actual and practical implementation varied widely among the republics and provinces. Further, the concept of self-management as translated into practice does have some weaknesses. For example, inflation is an ever-present danger in an economic system in which small groups of workers are free to raise their own salaries (along with the prices of the goods they produce), with either no, or very limited, constraints. Sporadic services also often result in retail self-management organisations. For example, restaurants may have extensive printed menus but yet regularly have a very narrow range of dishes actually available because the self-managing group of workers has decided not to go to the trouble of making the entire menu available on that particular day. There is also a diffusion of responsibility, especially in the face of complaints from customers. The manager of a hotel or restaurant may respond evasively to a complaint or a request for redress by asserting that he has no authority to deal with the issue and must refer it to the Workers' Council. The mechanism of the Workers' Council can be used as effectively as the more formal hierarchies of Western bureaucracy by those intent on avoiding responsibility.

Another concern about the structure of self-management organisations has already been mentioned: the large number of groups and the cumbersome and sometimes inefficient process required to reach consensus among them. We would observe that there are indications that in many instances the theoretical structures and processes are streamlined and that the extensive involvement of many individuals is less than our description in this chapter would suggest. As in any group, leaders emerge and in the face of indifference or laziness on the part of other participants, exercise much of the power and authority.

Nevertheless, the Yugoslavs are enthusiastic about their system and convinced that it is working. They are also convinced that it will evolve to the point at which the state and other bureaucratic hierarchies play a smaller and smaller role in the lives of the people of Yugoslavia. In response to criticisms, the Yugoslavs would offer two rebuttals. First, they would paraphrase the familiar western saying "The cost of liberty is eternal vigilance" into the maxim that the cost of autonomy, independence, and individual freedom from an autocratic state is complexity, negotiation, and participation in self-management groups. Secondly, they would challenge their critics to demonstrate that self-management is less efficient than the Western form of representational government and democracy.

While conscious of imperfections in the translation from theory to "praxis", Yugoslavs believe that self-management socialism is, or can be made to be, both more efficient and more satisfying to citizen and worker than either the democracy of western capitalism or the etatism of the USSR. In the following chapters on the elementary, secondary and 'recurrent' phases of education, we shall examine the application of self-management principles, looking at schools and colleges in terms of government, finance, curriculum and access.

# III

## PRE-SCHOOL AND ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

After the devastation of World War II, Yugoslavia set out to raise a new generation for a new country. In the task, the first priority was to give every child eight years of general education. The aspiration has since become a fact. In the relative short period of one generation, the Yugoslavs have created out of the ashes of the war a system of elementary education of which they are justifiably proud. In 1953, 71 per cent of the age group was enrolled in elementary schools and illiteracy was high. By 1978, 2.8 million children - 98 per cent of those aged 7 to 15 - were enrolled, and illiteracy among young adults had been dramatically reduced. By the decade of the '70s, the wealthier provinces and republics were able to extend their earlier educational horizons towards pre-school opportunities for children aged 3 to 6 years. Today, more than one-tenth of these children are enrolled in separate pre-schools, work organisations, or elementary schools.

Our visit left us with favourable impressions of the schools. The teachers we met were dedicated and in most cases well trained. They exuded that love of their work and their charges which is so essential to the education of the young. The best of the schools we visited would stand proudly among the best schools in the world; the average quality of those we saw was high. In this chapter, we will describe these accomplishments, and the current structure and programmes of schools for young children. We will also identify a number of specific difficulties, the discussion of which, in our judgement, will best communicate to other OECD Member countries both what has been accomplished and what is yet to be achieved by the Yugoslavs. It is, of course, our duty in country reviews to seek out issues and problems. But where we manage to find them we do not thereby intend to distract the reader from the fact that we were impressed and inspired by what we learned of elementary education in Yugoslavia.

## PRE-SCHOOL EDUCATION

Pre-school education in Yugoslavia enrols about 255,000 children aged 3 to 6 in almost 3,000 institutions. It takes place in kindergartens, nursery schools, child-care centres which are established as part of work organisations and, increasingly, within existing and extended elementary schools. Priority is given to enrolment of children of workers and, in most instances, the parents of the children must pay at least part of the cost. Based on our visits and discussions, we would identify three topics for further discussion:

1. The purpose and focus of pre-schooling and its relationship to the curriculum of the elementary schools.
2. The dramatic differences in pre-school provision among republics and provinces.
3. The issue of whether compulsory attendance should start before the present age of seven.

### Purposes of pre-school education

As in other OECD countries, pre-schooling serves a variety of purposes in Yugoslavia. Pre-schools provide child-care for the working parent, health care for the infant, an opportunity for him or her to develop social skills, to work with other children, and to begin formal instruction. As in other countries, pre-schools in Yugoslavia combine these goals, usually with more emphasis on day-care, health services, and socialisation at the younger ages, and with more and more formal instruction introduced for children aged five and six.

The recent reforms in education set two major directions for pre-school education. First, an explicit link between pre-school and elementary school is created. Second, there has been a shift in the stated purpose of pre-school from exclusive emphasis on day-care and health services to a more explicit inclusion of education and instruction. Along with the shift to more formal teaching and learning, there is an intention to expand the availability of pre-schooling.

The universalisation of elementary schooling has, at least in some regions of the country, led naturally to the development of pre-school education. However, the directions set in the reforms also flow from an increasing need to provide day-care for working mothers. (In 1978, some 1.8 million, or almost 35 per cent of the 5.2 million active workers, were women). These conditions are often found together: those countries which have large numbers of women in the work force are often urbanised, highly developed, and therefore also financially able to provide such programmes.

What can be observed in practice in pre-school programmes in Yugoslavia? In our experience, the primary Yugoslav purpose for younger children is to provide day care, socialisation and health services. However, in programmes for older children (particularly those aged 6), we observed differences in the extent to which formal learning was being pursued, and, in some instances, the development of practice which is in definite disagreement with official policies.

In part, we would attribute the differences to variations in available resources. We also observed differences in educational approach toward the pre-school curriculum. In Serbia, for example, the pre-school administrators whom we met firmly rejected a formal instructional component for the pre-school. In their view, the central purpose is to provide day-care, an opportunity for socialisation, and work habits. In contrast, we found elsewhere that the last year of pre-school is quite explicitly viewed as instructional, and formal curriculum development, which will tie the pre-school to the first year of elementary school, is under way. It should be noted that disagreement as to the appropriate degree of instructional content is not unique to Yugoslavia. It is to be found among pre-school educators everywhere. However, given that a policy has been formally established in Yugoslavia, we would raise the question as to whether more uniform acceptance of that policy is desirable and if so how it is to be implemented. Or, on the other hand, are the differences acceptable?

## Participation

If pre-school is strongly instructional - in effect the equivalent of a first year in elementary school - then is not an inequity created between those children who participate in pre-school and those who cannot or do not? Is the child who has had the opportunity of a year of formal pre-school not "ahead of" or more advanced than the child who did not have that opportunity? Teachers with whom we discussed this matter are aware of the dilemma. In at least one instance, we were explicitly assured that the implementation of a significant instructional component within the pre-school programme would only take place when a large percentage of children were able to participate, in order to avoid this potential inequity.

Participation in pre-school programmes differs substantially across Yugoslavia. In Vojvodina, for example, over 90 per cent of eligible children aged 6 are enrolled in pre-school. And, in fact, the remaining 10 per cent could participate if they chose to do so. At the other extreme, in Kosovo and Montenegro, less than 5 per cent of the children take part, and in Bosnia-Herzogovina it is only 6 per cent. The reasons for these dramatic differences include the extent of need, the fiscal capacity of province or republic to provide pre-school education, and the availability of adequately trained staff.

Differences in fiscal capacity among the republics and autonomous provinces of Yugoslavia are large. The social product per capita (i.e. gross national product) varies widely. Most recent figures (1977) indicate that the annual social product per capita for Yugoslavia as a whole is almost 15,000 dinars. In Slovenia the per capita amount is twice this national average and in Kosovo it is approximately 5,000 dinars, a range of about six to one.

The republics and autonomous provinces have joined together to provide some transfer of resources among republics and provinces. However, the only autonomous province which regularly receives funds is Kosovo. (Montenegro is being aided temporarily to help it recover from the effects of the severe earthquake which it suffered several years ago.) Further, the funds are given as general income to Kosovo and therefore are allocated among many activities. No funds are specifically earmarked for the day-to-day operation of education in transfers from one republic to another.

The wide range of pre-school participation raises a second issue: to complement the current national policy on the content of pre-school education, is there also a need for a uniform policy on participation? Along with that policy is there a need for a commitment at the federal level to assist in providing the resources needed to implement that policy? Does not equity require that, if it is policy to include an instructional component in pre-schooling, there should be complementary policies on participation and funding?

## Starting age for compulsory education

These questions lead rather directly to another: should the age for starting school in Yugoslavia be lowered, in effect making one year of pre-school education mandatory? It is relevant to notice here that school attendance begins at age seven in Yugoslavia, later than in most other OECD Member countries. Among educators there is little debate concerning the readiness of six-year-olds for formal instruction. Shifting the entry age for elementary school down one year would appear to have much merit. It would be a straightforward policy to establish in areas of the country like Vojvodina in which most children aged six already participate in some form of schooling. It would also be in harmony with existing policies in those areas which are intending to expand pre-school education as rapidly as possible. Further, it would be a logical next step following the explicit link between pre-school and elementary school curricula. Finally, it would compensate for some of the effects on schools and teachers of declining birth rates.

# ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

The recent reforms establish the first eight years as the principal part of a ten-year curriculum of general education (including the first two years of secondary education). Given that Yugoslavia is now moving towards a closer linkage of these eight years of schooling with the last year of pre-school education, ultimately an integrated curriculum of 11 years of general education will be available, eight of which will be compulsory. We turn now to the organisation and funding of this emerging structure of elementary education. In doing so, we shall encounter two special challenges to education in Yugoslavia: the schooling of large numbers of children whose mother tongue is different from that of the majority, and large numbers of children temporarily living out of the country as members of the families of those who are working abroad.

## Organisation and structure

We saw in Chapter II that elementary schools are governed by a School Council made up of parents, representatives from the local BOALs, and teachers and staff who work in the school. If the school is large, the education workers themselves will frequently be organised into their own BOAL within the school. One of our first visits was to a lively but orderly school in Novi Beograd which serves some 2,400 pupils with a staff of 112 teachers. The School Council is made up of 15 teachers, 10 parents, and representatives of local work organisations and community groups. The School Council has a substantial authority. It is responsible for appointing the teachers and principals, preparing the annual school plans (budgetary and curricular) for submission to the regional community of interest, allocating proposed expenditures among the various functions within the school, and setting the salaries of the staff. At the next level of organisation, there is a community of interest for self-management of elementary education. This community usually deals with several schools and is composed of representatives from each of the school councils (the "providers" of education) as well as representatives of the various local BOALs (the "users" of education). The community of interest receives the proposed budget and programme from each of the schools and combines them into a proposal to the community assembly or to other higher level organisations which provide funding for the schools. The plan includes recommendations by the local BOALs as to the level of contribution by individual workers and BOALs required to support the schools.

Increased parental participation is now much advocated in some OECD countries. In Yugoslavia, because of the School Council, it is an established practice. Parents are directly involved in school governance and also work with the schools (as in many countries) to organise special programmes, to arrange visits to work organisations, museums, etc. We gained the impression that teachers consulted parents frequently about the academic progress of their children. In some schools at least, conferences with the teachers are required of the parents. As often as every six weeks, parents come to the schools and meet in small groups with their children's teachers to discuss the curriculum, the progress of their child, and how the parent can help the child at home. Increased involvement of the parent to promote effective partnership between home and school is an important element of the recent reform.

## Finance

In many OECD countries there has been growing concern among policy-makers about the wide variations found in per-pupil expenditures for elementary education. Equity is the underlying issue. Does the fact that resources expended in educating two children vary widely also mean that the quality of education received - and thus the preparation for life - also varies? Presumably the quality of education depends significantly upon resources translated into lower rather than higher pupil/teacher ratios, adequate equipment and supplies, remedial programmes, and special programmes for the gifted, the handicapped, etc. In other words, money makes a difference.

Variations in per-pupil expenditures are particularly large in systems of elementary education which depend most heavily on local or regional sources of funding. While variations are due partly to differences in costs (teachers' salaries tend to be lower in rural than in urban areas), these differences are usually small. The two major causes of variations are differences in the wealth (or "tax base") of the local communities, and differences in the degree to which they are willing to tax themselves to support education.

The problem is crucial because it directly affects one of the most fundamental purposes of education. An almost universal expectation of education, especially among the poor, is that it is the magical key which unlocks the cycle of intergenerational poverty, giving the children of the poor their opportunity to live a better life than their parents or grandparents. Yet in poor communities, the cycle of poverty is often reinforced rather than broken since educational resources are inadequate.

This is a real issue in Yugoslavia. We have described the process of allocating funds to schools and the republic-level solidarity funds which are created to compensate for differences in wealth among local communities. We must now comment on the results of the allocation process as measured by per-pupil expenditures. Two major problems will be raised for discussion with the Yugoslav representatives: first, whether the present range of variation in expenditures among elementary schools is of concern to them, and whether increases in solidarity funds are contemplated; and, second, whether the movement towards more decentralised control of education will not increase rather than decrease these variations.

Money for elementary schools in Yugoslavia comes from three major sources: the local communities through the self-management communities of interest and the local community assembly, the self-managing communities of interest for elementary education at the regional level, and the community of interest at the republican or provincial level. The bulk of the funds is provided by the regions and republics. Local communities supplement these major sources of funding, usually providing finances for special programmes, new construction, remodelling, etc. Often, parents or local work organisations will make extra efforts to raise funds for special events or enrichment programmes.

As in other countries, compulsory elementary education is for the most part free of cost to the parent and child. Parents, however, must usually cover the cost of meals (or if two meals are served, one of the meals), supplies, and sometimes transport costs. Very often, in communities in which parents must cover these costs, there will be special funds available from the local communities to subsidise families with very low incomes.

We can illustrate the general system by reference to Novi Sad, the capital of the province of Vojvodina, a town on the Danube river north-east of Belgrade, encompassing the municipality and twelve of its suburbs, and comprising eighty communes and thirty-five elementary schools. The regional community of interest for general education (as it is called there) deals with the financing of pre-schools, elementary schools, and the first two years of secondary schools. This particular community of interest is composed of 130 delegates from the schools, the communes, the work organisations, and socio-political organisations. It is organised into two chambers, one made up of the workers in education, and the other the remaining delegates.

Each School Council prepares a plan which includes the proposed programme, estimated enrolment salaries, building costs, and the proposed level of contribution by the BOALs. These are submitted to the regional community of interest which combines them into an overall plan for the region, negotiating any differences between the community of interest and individual school councils. The regional plan for elementary education is presented to the regional assembly only after a consensus is reached in the community of interest between the providers of education services and the workers. The assembly, which is made up of three chambers representative of associated labour, the local communes, and the socio-political organisations, then determines the percentage of income of the BOALs and of individual workers to be contributed for the support of public and social services as well as the percentage of those revenues to be allocated to education. If there are any differences of view between the assembly and the community of interest for general education, these must be negotiated and agreed on by both bodies before they are considered final.

In this way, the region determines its support for elementary education in a given year. A similar process is undertaken at the republican level. The community of interest for education at that level also develops a plan, makes its proposal to the republican level assembly, and works out an agreement on the resources to be provided for elementary education by the republic.

In general, the funding of elementary education is decentralised, that is, most of the resources are provided at the regional level. However, resources are provided to compensate to some extent for differences in wealth among communities. For example, in the autonomous province of Vojvodina, solidarity funds flow to communes which have a per capita social product (the equivalent of a GNP per capita) which is below seventy per cent of the provincial average. Of the 44 communes in the province, 17 are beneficiaries of solidarity funding.

Nevertheless, despite solidarity funds there is still wide variation in resources per child among communities within republics, and, to a greater extent, among republics. As in some other OECD countries, these variations are the direct result of a predominantly local funding mechanism for elementary education.

Comparisons between regions of Yugoslavia in per-pupil expenditure are difficult because the figures in each republic or community often include different categories of expenditures. However, making due allowance for ambiguities of interpretation, it appears to us that the range of per-child expenditures in Yugoslavia is quite wide. For example, the average expenditure per year is approximately 5,000 dinars per child in Kosovo, compared with 13,500 in Slovenia. Differences also appear within republics. Thus, in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the average per-child expenditure is approximately 9,000 dinars per year. Yet school-by-school expenditures range from approximately 5,000 or 6,000 dinars to as much as 15,000 dinars per child. True that these figures are only roughly comparable because of differences in accounting practices; but we do not doubt that they measure a reality which was apparent to us also in other ways. The schools we visited clearly had differences in class size, quality of the physical plant, and the amount and quality of equipment.

We must therefore question whether the solidarity funds provided within the various republics and provinces (and the single solidarity fund provided at the federal level to Kosovo) are adequate to ensure that every child's schooling is of sufficient quality to ensure equality of educational opportunity across the country. Or, stated another way, what is the "minimum" amount which should be guaranteed to every child for his elementary education? This issue is not, we appreciate, unique to Yugoslavia and it is one that the authorities are striving to resolve. It could be, and in fact is being, raised in many OECD countries which rely predominantly on the local financing of elementary education.

There is, however, a second issue which is somewhat more peculiar to Yugoslavia. Some countries have recently pursued policies specifically intended to reduce geographical disparities by national redistribution of funds per child. For example, in the United States, many individual states have revised their funding formulae and passed new laws aimed at reducing disparities in per-pupil expenditures among local districts. Recent years have seen elementary education increasingly funded by states and decreasingly by local communities. Yugoslavia has moved deliberately in the opposite direction. Further, it appears (at least in some republics) that the devolution of authority and control of elementary education is also accompanied by a shift of financial responsibility to the local community of interest and away from the republican or provincial level. Will the efforts to decentralise the management of elementary schools increase rather than decrease disparities in funding for elementary education? Will existing inequities among communities be exacerbated?

Viewed from another perspective, is it possible that inequities can be reduced (that is, solidarity funds increased) while at the same time the fundamental direction of the reform towards increased self-management at the local level is retained? To what extent are the Yugoslavs concerned with this issue? To the extent that they are, how will they deal with this dilemma of ensuring some degree of resource equalisation among communities while at the same time reducing the amount of control exercised by regional, republican or federal agencies? Other countries, because they share the dilemma, will be interested in the answer. Yugoslavia is decentralising the control of education not only for ideological but for a variety of reasons. Many other nations are, in much smaller ways perhaps, experimenting with means to ensure greater flexibility and initiative in schools. As a result, they are also struggling with ways to ensure an equalisation of resources through a growing financial contribution from higher levels of government without, at the same time, having to accept the traditional control associated with that funding. On this view, the introduction of self-management into the schools is of great interest to education policy-makers everywhere.

## Curriculum

The elementary school curriculum in Yugoslavia emphasizes basic skill training, general preparation for secondary schools, vocational training, lifelong learning, and the learning of self-management. In addition to linking the elementary curriculum more explicitly to that of the pre-schools, the Yugoslav intention is to extend the general education curriculum into the first two years of secondary school. The reformed system will also tie education more closely to working life, through the introduction of additional work-related content, and through visits to workplaces.

Two features of elementary education in Yugoslavia deserve note. First, two phases are distinguished - years one to four, and years five to eight. In years one to four, the children have a single classroom teacher covering all subjects. But in years five to eight subject teachers, usually more highly qualified, are used. Second, the policy is for a teacher to stay with the same class of children from year one to the end of year four.

Remedial instruction is a significant component of the elementary curriculum. In many of the schools we visited, a child must take remedial courses if his or her performance falls below some specified level. These courses are provided before and after school, as well as during the normal school day. In some schools, a pupil who has made poor progress through the year is required to take additional instruction during a special summer season. Remedial instruction is usually provided in small groups, less frequently in tutorial sessions.

Essentially the elementary curriculum is laid down centrally. Three bodies at the republican or provincial level exercise control over curriculae: the Secretariat for Education; the Educational Council; the Republican Institute for the Promotion of Education. Each republic and autonomous province has all three bodies. The Educational Council is appointed by the republican or provincial assembly and consists of experts whose competence is restricted to professional and pedagogical issues. The Council sets up commissions composed of members of academies of science, university professors, eminent educationists and practising teachers and charged with the task of solving professional problems. The chief administrative officer of the Secretariat of Education (the administrative body responsible to the assembly for the administration of provincial or republican level programmes) also serves on the council. The Council reviews and approves school plans and programmes, establishes teaching needs, and has the authority to approve curricula and textbooks. The adoption of new curricula or materials or changes in the existing curriculum cannot be undertaken without the approval of the Council. The Republican Institute for the Promotion of Education is made up of specialists in all the subjects and areas covered by the curriculum and in all the activities of the schools. It prepares papers to be considered by the Education Council and other bodies concerned with education in the republic.

An institute for publishing textbooks is responsible to the Educational Council and performs the actual task of curricular and textbook development and publishing. Institutes are not excessively large, since most of the experts who actually write textbooks do so as temporary consultants to the institute. The selection of authors is usually through a competition of would-be authors who submit their proposals. Once a textbook has been written, final review and approval must be given by the Educational Council.

We would raise two questions concerning the curriculum of the elementary schools.

First, to what extent is the curriculum in fact substantially controlled at the central level? What, if any, flexibility do principals and teachers have in determining content of the curriculum? Given the movement towards decentralisation, are any changes envisaged in the current method of preparing and revising textbooks and other curriculum materials?

The second question is about the shape of the curriculum. We were often told, and the Belgrade Report also affirms, that the curriculum is overloaded. There are too many required courses. We would ask the Yugoslav representatives to describe the extent to which this is the case. If it is a problem, what should be done about it? On the one hand, is it likely to be exacerbated by the plans to include more content on working life and on self-management? Or, on the other hand, will the extension of general education into the first two years of secondary school reduce the pressure on the elementary school curriculum? Similarly, will increased formal instruction in the last year of pre-school also help?

The upgrading of the curriculum is a continuing preoccupation. The Yugoslavs are committed to a more modern and individualised curriculum, but progress is slow. Curriculum change implies retraining of teachers - a gradual and often expensive process. Yugoslavia has a special problem here. Because of war and rapid expansion in the 1950s, minimally trained teachers had to be recruited who subsequently have been in special need of further training.

## Language

The multilingual character of Yugoslavia is an ever-present influence on its politics and its culture. The existence of strong national and ethnic groups provides incessant force towards decentralisation. Language also has an important impact on the curriculum of the elementary schools, resulting in what is perhaps the most developed system of bilingual education among the OECD countries. Instruction in elementary schools is provided in their mother tongue for children of *nine* separate nationalities (Albanian, Bulgarian, Czech, Italian, Hungarian, Rumanian, Ruthenian, Slovak and Turkish). In 1978, almost 400,000 children were enrolled in schools in which classes are taught in one or more of these nine languages.

The nationality schools of Yugoslavia are fully bilingual. Instruction in all the principal subjects is provided in the mother tongue throughout the eight years of elementary school. The child is also required to take instruction in the "language of the cultural environment", Serbo-Croat. Thus, all young people in Yugoslavia learn both the dominant language of the nation and the language of their family. By providing a fully bilingual education, recognition is given to the fact that, while Serbo-Croat may be the language spoken by the majority of Yugoslavs, it is *not* the "official" language of the nation. (Three languages are constitutionally recognised as co-equal in status in Yugoslavia. Within specific republics or provinces, official recognition is given to other languages, depending on the size of the particular nationalities).

The commitment of the Yugoslavs to bilingual education is impressive not only for what it tells us about social cohesion and diversity, but also because it entails substantially increased costs for those provinces and republics which have large numbers of nationality schools. Those schools are equipped with textbooks and literature in the native language of the children, and are staffed by teachers who speak that language and who are usually themselves bilingual. In Vojvodina, for example, almost one-third of the approximately 600 elementary schools provide teaching in languages other than Serbo-Croat, specifically Hungarian, Rumanian, Slovakian and Ruthenian. The textbook institute publishes every textbook for the general elementary (and secondary) curriculum in these five languages. Such linguistic generosity is expensive. Textbooks (which parents pay for) are uniformly priced, in spite of the great differences in their costs of production. Only four of the nationality schools in Vojvodina are Ruthenian; yet the full curriculum is produced for that nationality group.

Commitment to a multinational, multilingual society is an integral part of Yugoslav determination to live together as a single nation, basing their unity on an equal recognition of their constituent nationalities. For the Yugoslavs, political unity is primary and the educational costs secondary. The Yugoslav representatives might usefully elaborate on their experience to describe the educational aspects of this commitment when they come to Paris. What are the special pedagogical problems created by the diversity of language and nationalities? How are they dealt with? What are the costs? Increasingly, other OECD countries are having to deal with the educational needs of growing minority groups. In many countries there are debates about how education can be organised effectively to serve the needs of children who do not speak the language of the majority. Are there specific suggestions and recommendations which the Yugoslavs could offer to other Member nations? Finally, the policy of multilinguistic provision appears to constitute an open-ended commitment to large expenditure. Is this the case? What are the limits - if any - to the total implementation of the policies for the education of children in nationality schools?

### Yugoslav children living abroad

We want to comment on another aspect of education which is characteristic of Yugoslavia, but which has international implications. Modern European economies employ hundreds of thousands of "Gastarbeiter" who migrate for a time from their native land to another, more developed, country. These workers often do not remain in the country to which they migrate. Rather, when jobs are no longer available, or when opportunities arise in their native country, they frequently return. Migrating workers can bring economic benefits to both countries: the receiving country secures a larger supply of labourers, and the migrating workers often develop skills which are valuable to their own nation's economy when they return. However, international labour mobility also creates special problems for children and schools. Yugoslavia seeks to ensure that its children in other countries receive an education compatible with that which is available at home. They must also develop ways to integrate these children into the curriculum of a Yugoslav school when they do return. Given the relatively large number of families which migrate from Yugoslavia to neighbouring countries, we would ask the Yugoslav representatives to describe the steps which they have taken to meet their children's needs. What, if any, special programmes are provided? What, in the light of the uncertainties over the future of the Workers' Universities to which we refer in Chapter VII, is being done to develop these arrangements? Does the situation require special relationships with schools and education ministries in the host country? What is the nature of the relationship? Are there ways in which OECD Member countries can be of assistance?

## CONCLUSION

In the discussion of elementary and pre-schooling in Yugoslavia, we have had occasion to raise many questions. There are problems of governance, finance, and curriculum, most of which are to be found in one form or another in most countries, but also most of which acquire a special form in the context of Yugoslav politics, rapid economic growth, and social diversity. Where the problems are shared, further discussion of them on the basis of our report may serve other OECD countries as well as Yugoslavia itself. But we would not wish to end without returning to our beginning, so as to re-emphasize our appreciation of the Yugoslav achievement.

The mainstream of Yugoslav schooling runs strong and clear. It successfully takes in the main tributary streams of ethnic and geographical origin to form, like the Danube, a majestic river of Yugoslav nationhood. The old have a firm influence over the young in their schools. We asked the assembled teachers in a large school if they ever had to deal with a case of pregnancy among their fifteen-year-old girls. No one knew of a case. Did they never have to suspend a rebellious and delinquent boy? Yes, of course, no society could be innocent of such troubles. But they seem in Yugoslav schools to be isolated individual phenomena and never to reflect the culture of a whole school or even a whole class. And the carefully nurtured co-operation of the school with its parents is almost always effective to deal with the failures that occasionally occur. These answers did not surprise us, for on every hand there was the evidence of well designed, well equipped, immaculately maintained and, by any standard, lavishly adorned school buildings in which the children, at once active and contented, were pursuing an educative childhood.

# IV

## SECONDARY EDUCATION(1)

### Aims of the 1977 Reform

In nearly all OECD countries at the present time the most problematic sector of education is to be found at the secondary level. The reason for this is twofold. First, the great majority of young people rather than a select minority as in the past, are staying on at school to complete nine, ten, eleven or twelve years, with the result that the secondary schools can no longer regard preparation for higher education as their primary or exclusive function. Secondly, the scarcity of jobs facing young people leaving school, a fact of life since about 1974, has excited popular alarm and obliged governments to require that the schools be seen to play a more positive role in preparing young people for entry into working life. How to cater for a student population covering a wide range of abilities, and how to prepare some students for higher education while ensuring that all students can enter working life during and at the end of the secondary cycle, with qualifications to take up a job, are problems not easy to resolve.

Yugoslavia also faces these two problems and has embarked on a characteristically bold and imaginative reform of secondary education in order to deal with them. We think this reform so significant for Yugoslavia itself and so novel in several important respects within international experience that we propose to discuss it in some detail. Since it was initiated as recently as 1977, it is too soon to assess its effectiveness with any authority. But to us it seems already clear that it has both potential weaknesses as well as evident strengths, and that care should be taken from an early stage to identify and to take action to overcome the weaknesses.

The overall aim of the reform is to provide better opportunities for all young people to obtain a broad and deep basic education, and

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1) In Yugoslavia a distinction is drawn between elementary education (1-8 years) and secondary education (9-12 years). In most OECD countries the fifth to eighth years would be equated with lower secondary education, for it is at the end of the fourth year that subject-based teaching begins.

thereby a more assured start in adult life. Its more specific aims are:

i) to relate educational change more closely to social and economic developments;
ii) to defer students' choices of their future careers;
iii) to enable each student to make a wise choice about whether to stay in or to leave the education system, and what is the best stage at which to leave;
iv) to enable students, while still at school, to gain some knowledge about and practical experience of the world of work;
v) to prepare students who so choose to take up an occupation straight from school;
vi) to promote part-time and recurrent opportunities for adults as well as young people to complete their secondary education.

## The Demand for Secondary Education

The reform has been introduced in a country where there is today an apparently boundless demand for education. The great majority of young people and parents seem to believe that a child cannot have too much initial education. Before 1945 the participation rate in secondary education was minute by international standards. Now the rate bears comparison with any OECD country. Over 95 per cent of young people in all the republics and provinces stay on for the ninth and tenth years, and the participation rates for the eleventh and twelfth years exceed 80 per cent.

It is surprising that so very few young people should choose to leave school at the end of compulsory schooling. Does this mean that in Yugoslavia, by contrast with many OECD countries, there are virtually no adolescents who dislike school and quit as soon as possible? Or is it that many young people stay on voluntarily only because they and their parents realise that by leaving early they will be at a disadvantage in seeking employment or because, at least in some geographical areas, there are no jobs available and to be in school is preferable to being out of work?

What is certain is that many parents have aspirations for their children that are not warranted by their children's abilities. This is not out of financial expectations since manual jobs - jobs, that is, which early school leavers can relatively easily obtain - pay relatively well, but out of a desire that their children should find jobs which carry intrinsic prestige and give personal satisfaction. We discuss in a subsequent section the implications of inflated educational aspirations for the health of the labour market and the guidance and counselling functions of the schools.

## Organisation of Secondary Schooling

Before the reform there were three main types of school: the four-year gymnasium; the four-year technical school; the three-year vocational training school. The first prepared for university entrance; the second for middle technical and management occupations; the third for skilled and semi-skilled manual jobs. The structural effect of the reform is to replace this tripartite division by a single type of multi-purpose school and to eliminate any overt form of social selection. It entails the demise of the historic gymnasium, to the dismay of surprisingly few parents, teachers and university staff.

The reform is being implemented at a different pace from republic to republic. It was ushered in quickly, but not without considerable planning and some pilot experiments. University teachers played a leading role in the design of the new curriculum, so that there can be no suggestion that they were not consulted or that the new schools will not know how to prepare their students adequately for university entrance. Teachers in the three types of school were also able to participate in the planning process. Experimental schools were established, though the period covered by the experiments was very short - in Serbia, for instance, only three years as against six years in Croatia. Later on in this chapter we shall suggest that the speed with which the reform has been introduced calls for special care in monitoring its effects.

Yugoslavia now divides the passage of a child through the education system into two main stages:

1. pre-school and elementary education;
2. "guided" or "vocationally-directed" education.

In turn, the first stage of guided education is secondary education, covering four years and the age range 16 to 19. The term "guided" is intended to denote that education should be linked to employment. For the 16- to 19-year-olds, it is a question of preparation for employment either straight from school or after completing a further stage of higher education, whether full- or part-time.

Yet there is an apparent contradiction. The first two years of secondary education - the ninth and tenth - provide for a common curriculum and a common educational experience. Are they not then a continuation or rounding off of the first eight years of compulsory education rather than the foundation on which guided education is built? This question is all the more pointed in that the term "comprehensive" is applied to the first ten years of schooling other than pre-schooling, and that voluntary participation rates in the ninth and tenth average around 96 per cent through the republics and provinces. To all intents and purposes Yugoslavia now has ten years of initial schooling. Why not, it might be asked, formally acknowledge the fact by making the whole period compulsory and establishing a ten-year common school, or ten years of compulsory schooling not necessarily in the same school?

## Governance and Finance

At first sight the governance of secondary education appears complex in that the first two years are treated simply as an extension of compulsory schooling - that is, they are controlled on a community basis - whereas the third, fourth and, where applicable, subsequent years are controlled by "self-managing communities of interest for guided education" along the lines we have sketched in Chapter II. They are organised on a regional basis according to occupational classifications such as agriculture and forestry or social services. To add to an already apparent complexity, the regional and republican councils concerned with compulsory schooling retain a responsibility for the general education component in the curriculum beyond the tenth year.

At the republic and autonomous province level there is a self-management community of interest for guided education which formulates broad guidelines, co-ordinates the functions of the various occupational communities of interest, and provides financial assistance to underdeveloped regions. Operating also at the republic and autonomous province level is a council for each major occupation, say, the construction industry, which represents all the local organisations of associated labour and deals with such matters as designing curricula and commissioning textbooks.

Undoubtedly, the most striking factor about the management of guided education is the important role in policy-making and governance ascribed to the organisation of associated labour. Each secondary centre(1) has a council and a management group on which the enterprises for which it is training future workers are strongly represented. It is also to be noted that the students themselves have representative committees for each class and each centre, together with elected representatives on the various centre management committees, and that individual students over the age of 18 are eligible for election to the relevant councils at the regional and federal levels.

The financing of secondary education reflects the dual system of governance: years IX and X are financed from the same source and in the same way as compulsory schooling; years XI, XII and beyond are financed by the relevant organisations of associated labour, which

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1) The term now commonly used for secondary schools.

determine the amount and distribution of current costs. These organisations may also provide special forms of assistance such as students' scholarships (at one centre we visited 300 out of 5,000 students were supported by scholarships), modern equipment for specific occupational training, the payment of meals, uniforms, students' holiday expenses and the free services of part-time teachers from or at enterprises.

So far as we could determine the existence of a dual and, on the surface, complicated system of governing and financing secondary education does not seem to create insuperable problems. Somehow there is effective administrative co-ordination and equitable sharing of costs between the communities of interest representing years IX-X and XI-XII respectively. Moreover, the system has the merit of giving enterprises every incentive to improve the quality of the students whom they will later employ, and hence to ensure that the centres are adequately financed.

## A Structural Problem

Two structural questions arise from implementing the new reform:

a) What is the best way of organising years IX and X within the total education system?
b) How broad should be the range of occupations covered by years XI, XII and beyond?

These two questions, in our view, are interrelated and have important implications for the students' experience of secondary education.

The organisation of secondary education varies from republic to republic and within republics. We discerned three principal models for locating years IX and X:

1. To attach them to a compulsory school: 8 + 2 = a ten-year school (or does it?).
2. To link them to years XI, XII and beyond - a four-year plus school.
3. To establish free-standing two-year schools.

As to the range of occupations covered in years XI and beyond, there appear to be two models:

a) one occupation;
b) three or more occupations.

It is to be noted that differences between the republics over the articulation of the eight-year school with the ninth and tenth years is not confined only to organisation. For instance, in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Slovenia, general education is extended to three and not to two years of secondary education (ninth to eleventh year) and vocational (guided) education does not start with the eleventh year but earlier, even in the ninth year.

We offer three observations on practice as it has so far emerged. The first is that the choice of a model has usually been dictated by expedience rather than by pedagogical or other considerations. Essentially, it has been a matter of adapting a model to the physical plant available. In practice, secondary schools usually work on a system of two shifts with years IX and X attending in the morning, and years XI and XII in the afternoon - or conversely. This must inevitably impede realisation of the ideal of a common curriculum.

Our second observation is that there is no intention, even within a single republic, to establish a uniform model. We were told on several occasions that differences were to be expected and that the only indispensable desideratum was the full participation of associated labour.

The third observation is that, so far as we could ascertain, no one seems to be raising the issue that different models of secondary schooling are bound to have differential pedagogical and, possibly, career effects. For example, when the years IX and X are located in an eight-year compulsory school, does not that offer an experience for students different from the experience of students in a four-year secondary school? And is there no difference between the ethos of a ten-year school and an eight-year school? Does not the presence of boys and girls (young men and women!) of 16 and 17 have an effect on the rest of the school? And are these problems not exacerbated by the two-shift arrangement?

Again, is there not a difference in atmosphere between a four-year secondary school in which the majority of students in the third and fourth years are young men studying machine engineering and a school in which the majority of students are girls studying commercial subjects? Or between a school where the third and fourth years are dealing with technical subjects and a school where the dominant subject is modern languages?

It is interesting to note that Sweden has attempted to reach the same goal as Yugoslavia - that of matching the upper secondary curriculum to realistic occupational outlets - by creating large comprehensive schools where some 37 occupationally oriented subjects are on offer. This model is not suitable for Yugoslavia, however, because there the firm intention is to relate the curriculum to local labour markets which, outside such major centres of population as Belgrade, Zagreb, Ljubljana, Sarajevo and Novi Sad, can usually provide entry to only a limited number of occupations, perhaps dominated by agriculture or a single industry such as an automobile plant.

Our impression is that in Yugoslavia the abandonment of the old tripartite division of secondary education and the adoption of an entirely new system has caused surprisingly little disruption and no alarm about the kind of organisational and pedagogical issues just raised, for two reasons. The first is that, as we have pointed out, a high rate of participation in secondary education is a new phenomenon and there has not been, therefore, the traumatic problem of disestablishing or radically modifying an elaborate and long-established system which has afflicted the politics of secondary schooling in many OECD countries. The second reason is that Yugoslavs have, in education as in other spheres of social action, abundant confidence in their ability to take bold initiatives and to improvise on a nationwide scale at great speed.

Nevertheless, we believe that there is a fundamental issue at stake. Different models of secondary education do have different effects. We would simply recommend that searching investigations of what is happening in schools - compulsory as well as secondary - as a result of the reform should be undertaken with a view to ascertaining which models work best and identifying good practice. It might be desirable also to consider the models adopted in other countries, for example the Swedish comprehensive school and the British sixth-form college, with the intention of seeing them not as alternatives but as potential sources of inspiration.

## Access and Selection

The selection of students for the first two years of secondary education is usually based on the same zoning principle as for the elementary schooling, except that students from sparsely populated areas are obliged to leave home for the more populous centres. For the second two years, however, students are selected on the basis of their performance at the end of the tenth year and, where considered appropriate, on interviews. The geographical area within which they compete may be a large town, a region or a province. There is no pretence that every student should be able to pursue the subject of his or her own choice. This is only partially because places are necessarily limited in many subject areas. It is mainly because, while determined that all shall have equal rights to educational opportunities, Yugoslavia recognises that ability is not evenly distributed. To each according to his ability is, therefore, the golden rule.

The reform would lead inevitably to a hidden form of social selection if study of the chosen vocational subject or groups of subjects during the second two years were to dominate study of general subjects. Being aware of this danger the curriculum designers have provided for a balanced programme in which 70 per cent of the time is devoted to general studies, and 30 per cent to occupationally-oriented studies. It remains to be seen in practice, however, whether certain occupationally-oriented subjects do not lead more readily to university entrance than others, and whether, sooner or later, certain centres will begin to have conspicuously greater success than others in preparing their students for admission to the faculties of their choice. It also remains to be seen whether the intention to promote opportunities for recurrent education will reduce the competition for immediate entry to university straight from school.

The problem, in other words, is not that of the principle as much as the practice of meritocracy. The intention to provide genuine opportunities for further study and genuine choices is not in question. In Croatia, for example, any group of five students, given that they have the approval of their parents, can require that a new subject be incorporated in the optional branch of the curriculum. The risk is that, whereas parents versed in the ways of the education system will be in a position to give good advice to their children, many parents will not know what advice to give, or even that any advice is required. To remove the risk the authorities will need to watch carefully for any sign of emerging inequities.

It is obvious that opportunities at the secondary level cannot fail to be more plentiful and varied in large urban centres than in small towns and rural areas. In principle, a young person living where the opportunities are limited can attend a regional education centre and obtain support for his food and accommodation. But this presupposes that he is aware of the full range of courses that exist elsewhere in his region or republic and that a residential place will be available if he leaves home. The authorities will have to be on the watch to ensure that the new system does not operate to the disadvantage of those living outside the main population centres.

There are two large groups which are meant to benefit from the reform but may not do so in the absence of any positive measures in their favour - girls and adults.

We sensed that girls are still being led into a relatively narrow band of occupations both by the force of tradition and by lack of encouragement. Specialisation of years XI and XII can only reinforce the stereotyping of girls in relation to future careers.

There is in Yugoslavia a strong desire to reduce the educational gap between young people and adults, particularly those adults who left school early without occupational qualifications. In secondary education the intention is to treat them in the same way as young people with two significant differences. The first is that they should be able to spend less time in becoming qualified. The second is that those subjects in the curriculum concerned with character formation and preparation for working life have been omitted. Instead, greater attention is being paid to such subjects as family problems, the organisation of the labour market and the practice of self-management.

It is clear that the rate of adult participation in secondary education, which, it should be noted, may often mean essentially vocational training, varies greatly from centre to centre. In the future, it would be valuable to monitor absolute adult participation rates so as to assess the impact of the reform and to identify both centres and whole regions where the rates remain low.

## Curriculum Issues

We were informed several times that the curriculum for secondary education was as overloaded as that for compulsory schooling. This seems to be such a well-rehearsed complaint that we simply draw it to the attention of the Institutes of Education, which are no doubt already struggling to deal with it.

There are, however, two curriculum issues that call for more comment. The first concerns the balance between general education and vocational education. Given the intention to which we refer further below, that students in secondary education should be able to leave at any stage with a qualification to enter directly into a job, it is necessary that some subjects in the curriculum, even in years IX and X, must be elective and related to specific occupations. Our fear is that if such subjects loom too large in these two years they will compromise the intention to defer choices by leading many students into too early a specialisation.

The convention during years XI and XII of apportioning 70 per cent of the curriculum to general education and 30 per cent to vocational studies seems to us to strike a fair balance. Our only caveat is that too many working-life-oriented subjects should not be allowed to creep into the general education component and that the vocational component should be broadly conceived.

The second issue has to do with the articulation of the curriculum within the ninth and twelfth years and between secondary education on the one hand and compulsory schooling on the other. It is fully appreciated that the curriculum for the secondary phase should extend logically from the primary phase and we were told that to this end the practice of completing cycles of study in compulsory schooling has been abandoned in favour of a linear progression from term to term and from year to year. At the same time, we gained the impression that the compulsory school curriculum has not much changed with the advent of mass secondary education and that the curriculum of the secondary phase needs more thorough appraisal. In other words, the de facto emergence of a ten-year school and, indeed, the near approach of a twelve-year school have yet to be fully reflected in the structure and dynamics of the curriculum.

This having been said, we applaud the Yugoslav decision that to seek exact uniformity is undesirable. It is good that the curriculum should simultaneously serve individual needs and yet respond to the needs felt by local communities.

## Links with the World of Work

Two central features of the reform of secondary education are:

a) insistence upon all the students learning about and gaining practical experience of the world of work;
b) ensuring that each student is qualified to take up a job at the end of any year of study.

The intention is that students should become familiar with the world of work both through theoretical studies and by spending some time in enterprises. During the first two years work experience usually amounts to between two and three weeks. This period is prolonged during the second two years when students preparing for a specific occupation on leaving school may devote between 20 and 30 per cent of their time to on-the-job training. It would seem that for students in these centres, where, for example, there are many nearby enterprises, work experience is easy to arrange. For students in many centres, however, work placement appears to present a problem. Many OECD countries will watch with interest to see how Yugoslavia manages to cope with it.

The aim of giving each student a job qualification is justified on pragmatic as well as egalitarian grounds for there is much evidence to show that school leavers without employable skills belong to a group at more risk on the labour market than any other. To be realistic, however, the aim must be matched by accurate assessments of trends in demand on the labour market. Realising this, the authorities are attempting to gather and keep up-to-date detailed information about existing and projected manpower needs. The ultimate question, however, is: are sufficient jobs available?

Unfortunately, Yugoslavia is not immune from the scarcity of jobs now evident in most OECD countries and particularly confronting young people in search of their first employment. In Yugoslavia, high youth unemployment arises in part from structural changes in the labour market and in part from regional variations in economic activity. But it also stems from another cause, namely, the increasing tendency for young people, with the encouragement of their parents, to strive for non-manual jobs. There are thus vacancies for skilled workers - industry absorbs some 25.6 per cent of the workforce(1) - and yet many young people are unemployed or, as the conventional evasion has

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1) In many centres all the students are guaranteed jobs on completing their studies. This was true, for example of a mechanical engineering centre which we visited in Belgrade.

it, waiting for jobs, because they cannot find what they regard as a suitable opening. If this problem is to be overcome it is obvious that there will have to be a change in the attitudes and aspirations of young people and their parents. Counselling and guidance facilities are already good, particularly from the ninth year, but will need to be still further strengthened. More importantly, we think that the message has to be hammered home that young people who leave the school system early will be given every inducement to continue their studies while in employment. If this message is not widely appreciated, then young people and their parents will not take the risk, as they see it, of dropping out of the educational cycle and foreclosing their chances of a prestigious career.

Finally, we would stress that Yugoslavia faces a problem common to all OECD countries, namely, that all attempts to connect educational aims and practices to the world of work, especially to specific occupational outlets, will prove vain unless structural and curricular changes on the education side are paralleled by structural and functional changes on the employment side. Is the labour market flexible enough to accommodate to the new detailed classification of occupations? Are recruiting policies sufficiently adaptable? When they take up their jobs will the young find scope for the creativity and initiative for which their more advanced education has prepared them? Will the capacity of the most talented be fully stretched?

## Teacher Supply and Quality

The reform has profound implications for the supply and training of teachers. On the one hand, highly qualified specialists are required to teach the specifically vocational subjects. On the other hand, teachers trained as subject specialists or generalists in traditional subjects now have either to place their teaching in a new perspective or to teach new subjects, for example, how the self-management system operates - a vital component of every child's education in modern Yugoslavia on which there is increasing emphasis.

Teachers employed in the new model centres came mainly from the three types of secondary school which previously existed. In addition, however, some full-time teachers have been recruited from the workforce and a good deal of instruction is given at enterprises by their own qualified members. There is, no doubt, much to be gained from this mingling of teachers from a variety of backgrounds.

Nevertheless, there is a reorientation problem. It is evident that the reform will be fully effective only if teachers are sufficiently motivated and competent to make it so. We were informed that for some teachers special orientation courses had been arranged in advance of the reform. We also took note that Yugoslavia attaches

74

great importance to in-service training. Even so, we wonder if the majority of teachers have been adequately prepared to play their part in implementing the reform and whether the planned provision for reorientation and up-grading courses is proportionate to the scale of need. Some administrators and educationists, entirely in favour of the reform, expressed to us fears that many teachers were reluctant to change their ways and that some teachers were not up to the professional level now required of them.

## Buildings and Equipment

Any country which introduces a radical reform of secondary education without long-term preparations is bound to face formidable accommodation and equipment problems. Yugoslavia is no exception but it has been extremely ingenious in trying to overcome them. One effective recourse has been to make intensive use of the centres by adopting the same double shift system as for compulsory schooling and by providing evening classes for adults. Many activities take place on the premises of enterprises. At the same time, an intensive building programme is under way. The remarkable result is that, at least in the several centres that we visited, there are no signs of overcrowding despite the very high participation rates for all age groups.

Nor does shortage of equipment appear to be a serious problem. Many teachers are enthusiastically preparing their own instructional aids, and many organisations of associated labour are supplying up-to-date equipment, much of it very expensive, for practical training. Certainly, we visited centres where the training equipment was of the highest quality by international standards.

## Monitoring and Evaluating the Reform

In the last resort the success of the reform of secondary education will hinge on the ability of educational administrators and teachers to provide better life chances for all the young generation and new opportunities for adults without lowering educational standards. Can the values and standards of the traditional gymnasium, without its restricted base of social recruitment, be maintained? In order to protect quality we believe that the instruments for monitoring and regulating the effects of the reform may need to be more finely tuned. We especially recommend that there should be longitudinal investigations of the subsequent careers of students who pass through the centres. The role of the Institutes of Education in designing and improving evaluation techniques should become even more important.

## Expanding Role of the Centres

As the centres develop longer courses of five to six years and attract increasing numbers of adults, they will come to operate as comprehensive post-compulsory institutions, serving most of the education, training and retraining needs of communities that are not served by universities. How they function will be of great interest to other OECD Member countries also faced with the problem of creating more effective structures for bridging the gap between school and work and between school and university studies.

# V

## HIGHER EDUCATION

Self-management in universities is of medieval origin. At Bologna in Italy it took the form of defining the constituency as the students. In Paris it was the teachers. However, the modern Western university has typically evolved into a hierarchical structure of departments and faculties, bureaucratically administered, though with considerable power over internal affairs in the hands of senior academics. Only Oxford in modern times approximates to the model of a self-governing democracy of dons(1). In the terms explained and elaborated in Chapter II and on a modern Yugoslav view, an Oxford college would be a "basic organisation of associated labour" (BOAL). The governing body or "Workers' Council" of the college is where all decisions are made by an assembly following the principle of one don one vote. A difference is immediately apparent in that students are excluded from this franchise, and their interests are incorporated by a system of consultative committees. Nevertheless, the English "medieval survival" and the Yugoslav "socialist experiment" have a further parallel in the high degree of autonomy of their colleges and faculties respectively. The university at Oxford, like any of the 19 universities in Yugoslavia, has been, at least until recently, a loose federation of physically and constitutionally separate colleges in the one case, and faculties in the other.

But here again, the parallel stops. Certainly the dons in their University Congregation can collectively and democratically decide _non placet_ in the face of proposals from the Vice-Chancellor (Rector) whom they have elected from among themselves for a four-year term of office. But though dons fully and democratically control their several college properties and their administrative offices, the overwhelming fact of the environment of Oxford University is its 85 per cent income dependence on the state, whereas Belgrade University,

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1) A term which, with some loss of brevity and elegance, would have to be translated into the jargon of international conferences by some such phrase as "pedagogical and scientific workers by brain".

besides having an internal democracy of teachers and students, is now firmly set in the environment of a free exchange of labour between itself and the users of its products of knowledge and knowledgeable people - the "self-managing communities of interest" and the relevant organisations of associated labour.

The federal state, as we have seen, was eliminated from control of education by the Yugoslav revision of the Constitution in 1974. The further drive towards establishing self-management, which began in the factories in the 1950s, has now spread throughout the social fabric and both reflects and propels current developments in higher education. The consequence is that the BOALs and work organisations of the faculties and schools, linked together to form universities, are vitally dependent on the proposals and proddings of a large number of social, political and professional bodies, inside and outside their gates. They depend, in other words, not only on the state but on a large number of groups with a producer or user interest in the higher studies and in the supply of scientific and technological manpower. The implications of this emerging system for governance, finance, access and curriculum are our concern in this chapter.

## Governance

The uninitiated reader may perhaps acquire something of the flavour of the contemporary Yugoslav university if we rehearse the presentation of self which is published by the University of Ljubljana. Ljubljana is neither the biggest nor the smallest, nor the oldest nor the youngest, nor the most nor the least famous of Yugoslav universities. A proud possession of Slovenia, it has late sixteenth-century antecedents in a Jesuit School and an eighteenth century Lyceum. But the establishment of the university proper had to await the fall of the Habsburg monarchy. It dates from 1919 when five faculties were set up (of Law, Philosophy, Technology, Theology and Medicine). It flickered and almost died during the years of Italian and German occupation from 1941-45, but then sprang again into life and vigorous growth to become, by the mid-1970s, an association of ten faculties joined by ten other higher schools and academies. The university now boasts over 1,000 professors and other teachers and researchers, and it contains more than 13,000 students.

Over the past 20 years the University of Ljubljana, like all other Yugoslav institutes of higher education, has been learning self-management and unlearning the traditional "administrative manner of decision-making". The present arrangements were introduced by the Republic of Slovenia's University Act of 1975; but these also are undergoing further modification as the universities are drawn further into the developing system of vocationally-directed

78

education. Again, like all other Yugoslav universities, Ljubljana is a community of work organisations including faculties, academies of art, više škole (two-year advanced vocational colleges), four-year colleges and teacher training colleges. Twenty such work organisations make up the University of Ljubljana: three of the faculties are in fact sub-divided into BOALs (which were formerly departments of a faculty). BOALs and other work organisations are the primary self-governing units of the university. But there are also groupings of students in each year of study which are similarly self-governing.

Each of these primary units, in addition to its assembly, has a council to manage its affairs, composed of delegates of students, teachers and non-teaching staff, as well as of users. The users are other work organisations or BOALs, socio-political organisations and communities with interests in higher education. The worker, student, and user delegates each make up one-third of the total council membership. All three groups are on an equal footing. A decision of the council is not valid if a majority of any of the three groups does not agree with it. Each group, in other words, decides separately on such matters as the draft of a statute, the curriculum, the election of teachers, or the budget, before the council as a whole makes its decision. Further, the teachers and the non-teaching staff by constitutional right negotiate separately their own working conditions and personal incomes.

These governmental arrangements at the primary level are repeated at the level of the university where the essential organ of government is the University Council. It is composed of one delegate from among the workers, students, and users of every work organisation. It thus has 60 members, 20 from the staff, 20 from the students, and 20 from the users. Decisions of the University Council are carried out through various committees, commissions and professional enterprises. The Rector is the central co-ordinating administrator of the University. He serves for two years and can only be nominated once again for a further two-year period. The central administrative functions (professional, financial and technical) are in the hands of a Secretariat in the university led by a Secretary-General who is nominated by the University Council for a period of four years, and is eligible for re-nomination without limit.

To deal with the essential issues of academic appointments, there is a "habilitation commission" of 21 members, 7 of whom are nominated by the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia, and 14 are elected by the University Council, on the recommendation of the Socialist Alliance of Working People, from among the teachers, researchers, students and prominent professionals. The habilitation commission puts forward proposals for the election of professors, lecturers and their assistants. It is only from the commission's lists that the council of one of the relevant BOALs or work organisations makes its final decision on the appointment of a member of staff.

The income of each of the primary units is secured by a direct free exchange of labour with other organisations of associated labour, or through the self-managing communities of interest for higher education. Similarly income for research activity is acquired through the corresponding self-managing communities of interest for research. In cases where there is no community of interest the negotiation has to be made through the self-managing community of education for the republic. Assemblies of such communities of interest have two chambers - the chamber of producers and the chamber of users. The first is composed of delegates from the faculties or other work organisations in higher education; the second is composed of the delegates of the relevant outside organisations of associated labour, mainly business enterprises. The chambers work on an equal footing to fix prices for educational activity which in turn determine the income of each of the educational units. Research is directly financed by contracts between the education organisations on the one hand and enterprises or communities of interest on the other. In short, self-management and free exchange of labour link workers and students, producers and users.

Internally BOALs are democratically self-governing in higher education as in the economy at large. Externally these social markets yield a bargain between the educational organisations and society as a whole where the latter is represented either by work organisations or by communities of interest. The State in such a system has retreated into which traditional liberals would have called the night-watchman role. In Marxist terminology, it is withering away.

This skeletal picture of Ljubljana has to be set in the variety of arrangements which make up higher education in Yugoslavia, and in the process of expansion and reorganisation towards self-management and articulation with the social demand for labour, technology and culture. There is considerable variation between republics and provinces both in the scale and the organisation of higher education, though the general structure of development is the same. For example, the significance of the više škole and their incorporation into university organisation seems to be greater in Croatia than in Serbia. The path to self-management is similarly at different stages in different regions of the country. There is nothing surprising about this patchiness when one appreciates the rapidity of expansion: before the Second World War there were only three universities in Yugoslavia, in 1967 there were seven, in 1975 the number rose to 13, and in 1977 to 18. There are now 336 faculties, schools and academies, with 425,000 students of whom nearly two-thirds are full-time. The details appear in Table 2.

Moreover, faculty autonomy is still a distinguishing feature of the Yugoslav system and is likely to be encouraged by the trend towards self-management as well as by the tenacity of historically-vested interest. "Guild-like, discipline-based seclusion and mistrust" was the description of relations between faculties offered by Giles in 1975(1). The university is more the co-ordinating servant than the dominant master of the faculties and schools; and the University Council cannot legislate for its constituent parts. Obviously such a complex system sets up its own centripetal pressures, but past history and future plans are, just as surely, centrifugal forces.

Table 2

HIGHER EDUCATION SECTORS DURING THE ACADEMIC YEAR 1977/78

| | No. of institutions | Total students | Full-time students | Part-time students |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Faculties | 180 | 293,361 | 214,115 | 79,246 |
| Art academies and Art faculties | 15 | 3,388 | 3,026 | 362 |
| Specialised colleges | 5 | 8,066 | 3,802 | 4,264 |
| Vise skole | 139 | 119,560 | 51,131 | 68,429 |
| Total | 336 | 424,375 | 272,074 | 152,301 |

Source: Statistički Godišnjak Jugoslavije, 1978.

## Who Governs?

We have illustrated the formal constitution of government in our description of the University of Ljubljana, noticing in effect that the model held to be appropriate to self-managing socialism in the industrial enterprise is also held to be suitable for institutions of higher education and indeed for all organised social groupings and activities. We have further traced antecedents and parallels in unlikely places and periods in the history of European universities. The difficult problem, however, is to interpret the formalities of governmental structure as a process of exercising real power and real influence. The question in this sense is "Who governs?": it can be asked about the university in relation to the other institutions of society; it can also be asked about the relations of power and influence within the university.

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1) G. Giles, Higher Education in Yugoslavia. Yale Higher Education Research Group, Working Paper 39. Yale, 1979.

Outside, our summary answer has been that power resides in the operation of a series of social markets in which both geographical communities and economic enterprises take elaborate democratic part. Inside, the contenders for power and influence are primarily the academic teachers and researchers, the administrators and the students. These, of course, have been the principal contestants throughout the history of universities. In the mythology, and to some lesser but still considerable extent in practice, the academics have ruled their own house. But the emerging Yugoslav arrangements are significantly different in two major ways - the outside forces have an unusually strong presence inside, and the university is essentially still a voluntary association of autonomous or nearly autonomous faculties. Moreover, the weight of the social markets and the incorporation of the user interest into internal government of both the university and its constituent parts also shifts power and influence away from traditional academic dominance towards economic enterprises and most notably to the organised workers. It also gives unusual power to students; more so, we think, even than in those Western universities most affected by the student disturbances in the late 1960s. It was a novel experience for us to be greeted at the same table by the Vice-Chancellor and the Student Vice-Rector of the University of Belgrade.

Nevertheless, we would wish to guard against any underestimation of the power of the professors. The norm itself is certainly not to be taken from an idealised version of Oxford as an elite democracy of dons. Wherever there is a market for higher education, professorial power is crucially, if subtly, circumscribed. Modern memory in Western universities is focused on the threat to academic freedom which comes from dependence, especially financial dependence, on the State. But it is scarcely more than 50 years ago that Thorstein Veblen published his classic satirical attack, The Higher Learning in America, as a vehement protest against the "conduct of universities by businessmen" and the perversion of scholarly values by the ethics of business. Social markets are not, of course, commercial markets. But in both the problem arises of equating values to prices. In both there is an intrinsic weighting of power and influence in favour of the demonstrably utilitarian product. In Veblen's America the market strongly reflected the class structure of society. In socialist Yugoslavia the power of professors and faculty whose work is not clearly related to the needs of industry and economic growth may require reinforcements and an extra persuasiveness vis-à-vis the communities of interest for education, research and culture. Hitherto, to be sure, professorial power has been at least as resilient in Yugoslavia as it has in other countries. Conservatism with respect to the reform of organisation and curriculum is a world-wide characteristic of, and complaint against, academics. In Yugoslavia it has been especially strongly entrenched in the autonomous faculties, and has been a source of chronic tension between the professoriate and the dominant political organisations dedicated to socialist transformation of higher education.

This again is not to suggest in any sense that the academics are collectively arrayed against the political régime. Nevertheless, there have certainly been and are conflicts which caution against facile assumptions as to the speed and extent to which the state is withering away. There has, for example, been a controversy surrounding eight critical professors at Belgrade since the late 1960s.

> "In 1974 the Party organisation in the university made allegations that the dissident professors were unsuitable for their teaching posts on moral and political grounds. Eight independent commissions of enquiry of the university (one for each professor), which included professors from elsewhere and some lay members, all vindicated unanimously the accused professors. The Party had failed with this tactic, but thereafter tried to remove the professors from a position of influence over students by pressing them to take research posts, thus withdrawing from teaching, or by taking leaves of absence to teach abroad. When they still refused, the Serbian Assembly finally passed in January 1975 a resolution ordering that the eight professors should resign(1)."

In the same vein a report in the London Times of 13 June 1980 asserts that "36 intellectuals and academics from Belgrade have called on the government to grant an amnesty to all prisoners sentenced for verbal criticism of the Yugoslav régime(2)".

These examples are sufficient to indicate not so much that, in Yugoslavia as in other countries and other times, a dominant reforming political authority tends to see universities as the natural haven of intellectual opposition, but rather that the state and academy can never live in isolation from each other, and that in Yugoslavia both the professoriate and the Party retain power and influence in the land. Neither exercises monopolistic power over the universities; both remain potent and continue to contend for influence over students and the administration, neither of whom can

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1) Thorstein Veblen, The Higher Learning in America, Hill and Wang, New York, 1957, p.32.

2) The authorities should heed the old Scottish doggerel:

Sticks and stones
May break my bones,
But names
Will never hurt me.

possibly dominate in the developing self-management system which we have described.

Yet the question must remain in our minds as to the fate of the less readily marketable products of higher education. A shift of class power from businessmen to working men and women does not dispose of the dangers of market-domination over the higher learning. To put the issue sharply we may ask whether the self-management revolution may liberate academic life from the tyranny of the political state only to enslave it to the social market.

## Access

Access to higher education has been a major object of reform in OECD countries since 1950. The aim has been twofold - on the one hand to eliminate inequality of access by social origin, and on the other to develop higher education as the essential means of access to the scientific and professional manpower needed by a technically advancing economy. These two aims are related but not necessarily harmonious. Indeed, if the first is conceived as open access to all forms of higher education by free individual choice, there characteristically follows an excess supply of candidates generally, and particularly to courses leading towards entry to the administrative professions. Further and typical consequences are overcrowding and shortage of facilities, restricted entry to at least some of the more powerful faculties, selection by internal examination and dropout within the university, and a raising of the qualifications threshold to some occupations. In these ways socially skewed patterns of access re-emerge or persist. The difficulty is worldwide and reminds us that, in the pursuit of social equality of opportunity, every higher education system tends strongly to receive the cumulation of previous inequalities of opportunity which are imposed on the individual earlier in life by social discriminations of whatever origin - class, ethnicity, gender, region, or familial culture.

Yugoslavia also labours under this general difficulty. We shall look in Chapter VII at Yugoslav steps and plans to find solutions within the framework of continuing education. Meanwhile, we examine the selective mechanisms which operate at the gates and within the walls of the faculties and colleges. As the authors of the Belgrade Report put it,

> "The central problem in the democratisation of the education system in Yugoslavia is eliminating the inherited dualism in the present secondary education which favoured the children of parents who were well-off and educated, thus contributing to the reproduction of the existing social structure. This was reflected on the structure of students who enrolled at

> schools. This is at present being resolved by a transformation of secondary and higher education on the basis of the already-stated concept of vocationally-directed education, the expansion of the school network, social measures to raise the standard of living of the students who are not well-off, and wider social measures on the principle of reciprocity and solidarity."

Progress towards equality of chances to enter higher learning is slow, and a measure of its incompleteness is that the contribution of manual working families to the student body in two- or four-year institutions of higher education was 20.3 per cent in 1975/76; even then the contribution was higher in two- rather than four-year institutions. In 1970/71 it had been 17.5 per cent. But if social selection were random it would presumably have been well over 50 per cent.

These inequalities of initial access have, of course, no constitutional foundation. Legally the doors of any faculty or school are open to all those who have passed through the secondary schools. The traditional high road, as in other countries, was through the *gymnasia*, but a formally equivalent leaving certificate, the matura, is now given to all secondary school graduates, and right of access has also been granted on the basis of work experience since 1959. By the University Act of 1960 restriction of enrolment at individual faculties was forbidden except in exceptional circumstances, and, by the 1964 School Act, secondary school graduates with the *matura* were awarded equal rights of access to any institution of higher education. In practice, however, selection continues and all institutions are not equal. Most important, perhaps, is the distinction between faculties and *više škole*.

*Više škole*, like British Polytechnics or American Junior Colleges, attract special attention in this context as institutions which, in extension programmes especially, have offered wider social accessibility *de facto* than have the traditional universities. Though their future is by no means assured, the više škole have enjoyed a rapid rise to a conspicuous place in the Yugoslav system over the past 25 years, despite a good deal of reluctance to recognise them on the part of university professors. They stand "end-on" to secondary schools, offering vocational higher education and training for entrants to the middle levels of an industrial economy. They have been especially successful in the training of teachers for primary schools, and it is notable that two-thirds of their trainees have been part-time students, and two-thirds women. They also constitute the equivalent of the first two years in a faculty. During the 1960s their expansion was perhaps too rapid. Enthusiasm, and in some cases an element of status-seeking in towns without university faculties, established them throughout provincial Yugoslavia: and some, being mushrooms, were short-lived. Nevertheless, by 1977/78 they numbered 139, with 120,000 students, more than half of whom were part-time. Unquestionably they have been popular institutions among students and even among employers. British Polytechnics are second choice to universities for most of their students. Viša škola entrants do so in nine cases out of ten from first choice. And these students are much more heavily recruited from manual workers' families than are those who enter the faculties.

Moreover, the evidence suggests that the više škole have achieved a successful connection to the labour market, at least if the comparison is made between those who come out with the two-year viša škola diploma and those who drop out after two years at the university. Students, according to a recent OECD study(1), see the viša škola as affording a more realistic preparation for working life. De jure the successful two-year viša škola graduate has access to the third year of a faculty on equal terms with those who began in the university. De facto in some faculties at least, they are regarded as of lower standard and access is thereby restricted. Only a minority of viša škola candidates are successful in their application for admission to a faculty.

Entrance in any case does not imply automatically successful exit. Selection continues intra-murally for all students whatever their educational antecedents. Both drop-out and slow completion are conspicuous and stubborn features of the Yugoslav universities. Nor are the više škole exempt from these difficulties, as may be seen from Table 3 which shows the attrition from year to year among students at various stages and in different faculties and colleges in 1977/78. Nevertheless, given their general success, there would be keen interest in other OECD countries in any clear statement of the place of the više škole in the future of Yugoslav higher education.

The largest slaughter in institutions of higher education occurs at the end of the first year of studies. Some 40 per cent, and in some faculties a higher proportion, fail to jump this hurdle and either drop out or repeat the year. Over half of those who enter drop out at some point, and this is the main justification for maintaining a rigorous selection at initial entry as do some faculties such as architecture and law.

Slow completion remains an intractable difficulty. In the 1950s the average was six or seven years: it is still over five, and the target of reform is four. But the causes remain somewhat obscure. Many are suggested. They include inadequate secondary schooling,

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1) P. Cibois and J. Markiewicz-Lagneau, Students in Short-Cycle Higher Education. France, Great Britain and Yugoslavia. OECD, Paris, 1976, p.137.

student idleness and desire for the life of the Latin Quarter without the will to study, inadequate student finance, teacher negligence, and out-dated curricula, inefficient teaching methods, etc. Such a list of sins and shortcomings may contain the truth, but it also hides the effective remedies behind a formidable inventory of possible reform. The need for more exact analysis of this phenomenon seems to be urgent.

Table 3

STUDENTS BY YEAR OF STUDY IN THE ACADEMIC YEAR 1977/78

| | 1st year | 2nd year | 3rd year | 4th year | 5th year |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Faculties | | | | | |
| All students | 119,957 | 72,025 | 57,282 | 33,790 | 10,024(*) |
| (Full-time students) | (79,124) | (56,844) | (40,322) | (27,810) | (9,741) |
| Art academies and faculties | | | | | |
| All | 932 | 876 | 818 | 627 | 135 |
| (Full-time) | (845) | (802) | (685) | (559) | (135) |
| Specialised colleges | | | | | |
| All | 3,764 | 1,798 | 1,698 | 805 | 1 |
| (Full-time) | (1,569) | (981) | (851) | (400) | (1) |
| Više škole | | | | | |
| All | 85,704 | 31,851 | 2,288 | | |
| (Full-time) | (33,716) | (16,138) | (1,551) | | |

* Largely medical and engineering students.
Source: Statistički Dodišnjak Jugoslavije 1978, Tables 126-12.

One of the suggested causes - inadequate student finance - merits special attention in the light of what in the West would be called class inequality of access, and also in the context of the developing system of self-management. There is not, as for example in Britain, a national system of student scholarships. Instead major reliance is put on loans. There are special loan funds administered by the faculties under arrangements which resemble those in many American universities. Some of this money derives from student fees and the loans are awarded competitively, to be repaid starting six years after matriculation, or one year after graduation, whichever is the sooner. Outstanding students or those willing to teach in remote areas may have their debts waived. But the main and in future most important source of student support is the enterprise in which the student is to be employed. Some enterprises give scholarships. The trend, however, is to give loans. Altogether about 40 per cent of students are supported by loans and scholarships, some minimally, others relatively extravagantly. How far this system contributes to new inequalities of access between men and women, the different regions, or between occupational groupings, we do not know. Evidence on this question would be a desirable check on the egalitarian intentions of educational policy and on the working of self-management from the point of view of its effect on the social distribution of opportunity.

## Finance

In discussing student loans and scholarships and earlier in our description of self-management in the universities, we have touched finance at several points. Self-management, as we have emphasized, is an evolving practice. It began in education in the 1950s with the abandonment of direct federal financing and the creation of republic and local committees to administer "social funds for education". The latest development, led by Croatia with its Higher Education Act of 1977, has introduced higher education communities of interest (HECI). The purpose of these new bodies in the drive towards a complete system of social self-management is, one might say, to act as brokers between the producer interests represented by the BOALs, and the users. The exchange of labour and the fixing of prices for educational activity have given rise to a complex network of negotiations, bargains and contracts. The HECIs are intended to integrate the system. In Croatia they operate at the regional and municipal, as well as the republican level. In Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina they exist only at the republican level.

The HECIs again raise the question of where power lies in a self-management system. We have ourselves been struck by the high quality of the senior administrators and executives in the commissions and committees among which the HECIs are numbered. Is their role in planning the purse the key to power? HECIs are not ministries of education in the conventional manner. But do they in fact control the universities and faculties? An illuminating case has been discussed by Geoffrey Giles.

> "Faculties in Zagreb were taken by surprise in the summer of 1978 when the Croatian HECI announced a numerus clausus for some of them, restricting their intake of freshmen. There was alarm and outrage, accompanied by confusion over the legality of the move, but nevertheless the faculty's reaction was to pressurise the HECI for modification of the edict, rather than rejecting the numerus clausus outright. The implication of this is that the republican

> HECI, by controlling the purse-strings, is increasingly prepared to exercise powers of governance in areas where until recently there was a marked lack of co-ordination. It is interesting to speculate on just how it was that the faculties were caught by surprise by the numerus clausus announcement, when their representatives make up one-third of the HECIs Assembly. It may be yet another manifestation of a common problem in the whole self-management system: the deliberations of communities of interest are tedious, and many delegates do not bother to attend assembly meetings, thus making it rather easier for the executive to push through its measures. Still, all decisions of the HECI must be ratified by the General Assembly of the republic. In Slovenia, where the Republican HECI had earlier also tried to impose a numerus clausus, it was rejected after a debate in the Republican Assembly and could not take effect(1)."

So again, as with governance and access, the study of finance offers yet another perspective into the distribution of power in education. But though it may illuminate, it does not finally resolve the central question of where power lies in a system of self-management. Of one thing we can be sure: there is no single locus of domination. The system is, as it is intended to be, a pluralistic sharing of influences and responsibilities. We can be reasonably sure that the balance of power in Yugoslav higher education has shifted somewhat away from its traditional possession by the state and the professoriate to be more democratically shared by students, citizens and, above all, the industrially and politically organised workers. But how far a Michels' iron law of oligarchy works to the advantage of full-time administrators in such a complicated structure of bargaining and decision, we cannot definitively say.

## Curriculum

Professorial power is at its strongest in curriculum decisions. We have suggested that the self-management system modifies that power through its effects on funding and on the supply of students. We have also noted that overloaded curricula and outmoded teaching methods are alleged causes of dropout and slow completion rates. These problems have so far evaded effective remedy in Yugoslavia. Hope for solutions is now sought in the development of continuing education in the context of vocationally-directed studies and the self-management system. These developments will challenge the skill

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1) G. Giles, Higher Education in Yugoslavia, op.cit. pp. 26 ff.

and responsiveness of university teachers and will test their capacity to deal with increasing numbers of part-time students in collaboration with the training departments of enterprises. The history of professorial responsiveness has been a mixed one. Critics of academic institutions have complained that the faculties have been more keen on autonomy than on the larger goal of self-managed vocational education of which faculty autonomy is no more than a part. We are in no position to offer authoritative judgement. We can only recognise the difficulty of striking a balance between responsiveness to socially-defined need and the claims of academic freedom. In the Yugoslav context, the preservation of freedom to teach and to research has, like other liberties, to be seen as a special case of the same principles which have led to decentralised self-management in the economy and society generally.

# VI

## ADMINISTRATION, POWER, CONTROL AND CHOICE

Having described and discussed the stages of education from the nursery to the university through which a Yugoslav child may pass, we now turn out attention to the question of how stages are co-ordinated into a system. Our focus, in other words, now moves from the individual school or college to the administration of educational services as a whole and their place in the national framework of politics, economy and society.

Our discussion must again start with the concept of self-management which gives to workers in associations of labour the prime responsibility for deciding on the nature and the method of delivery of educational services in their own communities and work-places. An important objective is to replace the budgetary mechanism of the state as a source of finance with the ideal of a free exchange of labour resulting from periodic agreement between the users of educational services and the providers of them.

In the new Yugoslavia, education has a positive role and responsibility to contribute to material and social development, and to become one of the key determinants of the realisation of the goals of that development. For the individual, education is intended to provide training both for a place in the workforce and for participation in self-management, including a contribution to the cultural advancement of the society.

We would remind the reader, however, that the application of the new order in Yugoslav education is as yet far from complete. Within the framework of varying degrees of economic development and of responsiveness to social change, progress towards that ideal has gone farther and faster in some than in other republics and autonomous provinces. As elsewhere, old attitudes and methods linger on. Nevertheless, Yugoslavia is firmly committed to the ideal and to the prospect of the State withering away as the ideal becomes the reality.

## Federation

In the preceding chapters we have tried to demonstrate that Yugoslavia is indeed different from the other members of the OECD family. Economic, cultural and geographic differences notwithstanding, other Member countries rely on the state to regulate and administer their educational services within a framework of institutions and structures which have much in common. This applies to matters of finance, law and regulation, and to a lesser degree, to administration. In these countries, the state and its agencies are responsible for oversight of the working of the system.

Yugoslavia, like a number of OECD Member countries, is a federation. Previous OECD studies have shown that there are different ways of distributing responsibility and authority between the constituent parts and the federal whole. Two of us are from countries with a federal structure, and while there are similarities in the federal constitutions of the United States of America and the Australian Commonwealth, there are significant differences in the field of education.

Against this background, we expected to find distinctive features of the Yugoslav federation which would be worthy of investigation. Indeed, we found that in its federal structure and its basic political and social objectives as reflected in education, Yugoslavia is very different from the other OECD Member countries. At first sight, this difference could suggest that Yugoslavia has no federal problems in education. Under the new order, devolution of responsibility and of authority away from the central government is complete. Except for the quite special functions of education of the armed forces and of international liaison, the federal administration is irrelevant to what goes on in education. Closer examination, however, suggests that Yugoslavia does have such problems.

## Finance

A critical factor in an assessment of the real division of powers within a federation is an understanding of the effective distribution of responsibility for the collection of revenues and of authority over their disbursement, whether directly or otherwise. In many federations the national government has the major responsibility for raising revenues, even though by decree or by custom it may be obliged to transmit a substantial part of the proceeds to individual members. The sharing or delegation process often encompasses some degree of revenue equalisation in the distribution among the members. In this way, each member is put in a position to provide the same range of services as its fellows, but is free to determine its own priorities for expenditure - in education and other services. It is possible also that the process of transmission of a share of national revenues will include a measure of expenditure equalisation, that is contributions from an external source which assist the member to increase its spending in a particular direction.

In education this latter element would probably include categorical or specific purpose grants for particular aspects of education in which the national government is seen to have sufficient interest as to warrant direct financial involvement. As a by-product, the donor not only joins in the planning process but also in the evaluation of the outcome of the joint effort.

It would be expected that there would be some administrative machinery at the federal level for determining, or for advising the national government as to how it should determine the size and distribution of each type of grant to the members. In some instances the constituent members of the federation would have a voice and even a vote in the decision-making process about transfers of revenue. Where the federal government makes specific purpose grants for education it is usual for there to be an agreement or undertaking with the other members about the period over which the grants will be available.

In Yugoslavia, the federal government no longer has any direct financial responsibility for the education of its citizens. Furthermore, there are no solidarity funds of any kind at the level of the federation. There is not even a federal system of collection of the relevant data. Solidarity funds reach the peak of their collection and redistribution at the level of the republics. The contributions from the more developed republics and the province of Vojvodina to the less developed republics and the province of Kosovo are made available for general economic development though a recipient may choose to spend part of its fund on education or other social purposes if it so elects. And there are solidarity contributions for the carrying out of specifically educational functions at local and regional level.

So in the Yugoslav federation we find general revenue equalisation funds contributed by some republics to others, and expenditure equalisation funds made available by each republic among its regions. With respect to educational finance per se there is no formal authority or agency external to the individual republics which can make a judgement about, or publish analyses of, the relative generosity of the more affluent in contributing to the accelerated development of their less-advantaged neighbours.

## Legal and Administrative Responsibility

Turning from financial relations to the sharing of legal and administrative responsibilities among the central and regional parties to the federation, it is worth remembering that in the post-war period of revolutionary reform, Yugoslavia has had experience with a federal administration in education operating through a full ministry and with direct funding of educational activities in the member republics. The decision to turn away from that arrangement may have been influenced by experience of the performance of that function. But the underlying reasons are to be found in the powerful social movements out of which the modern federation has been formed. We sketched them in Chapter I. Ideologically they derive from a distinctive interpretation of Marxism. Socially they derive from ethnic and cultural diversity. Politically they derive from the relation of Yugoslavia to the Western capitalist democracies and the Russian communist empire. These forces in combination resulted in the adoption and evolving adjustment of a basic policy of devolution from the centre to the constituent parts in wide and varied areas of central government activity; a devolution which has embraced not only responsibility for the performance of the education function and the delivery of educational services, but also command of the financial resources to make that devolution effective.

Even so, the current Constitution of Yugoslavia does retain for the federal government and the federal socio-political organisations a voice, and a responsible voice, in the formulation of the overall policy objectives in education. While the application of general principles is left to the decisions of the republics and autonomous provinces, the federal administration retains the power to establish federal agencies in any field, with a right to share on equal terms with the republics and provinces in the execution of federal policy. They can also be established as a result of agreement among the republics and provinces.

At present, however, Yugoslavia chooses not to take advantage of these possibilities, but to leave co-ordination and co-operation in the application of the broad educational policy to the republics and provinces through interaction among the educational institutions, the self-management communities of interest, the socio-political communities and the general assemblies.

Within each republic and autonomous province there is a series of agencies which oversee the educational process, in terms of policy development, of execution and of review of policy and performance. It is not appropriate to describe this structure as a hierarchy because of the deliberate policy that decisions and action are generated upwards, not downwards. The basic principle, once again, is that the workers in associated labour are regarded as those primarily responsible for education.

The number and type of agencies involved present a formidable array, even though some of their counterparts can be found among most OECD Member countries. At local, regional and republican or provincial level there is no single agency responsible or accountable for educational services. For the purposes of this chapter we will consider the arrangements at the level of the republic (or province) and note that similar arrangements operate at local or regional level.

## Republican Administrative Agencies

What might be called the administering authority for education in the republic is a combination of a member of the executive government of the Republican Assembly (the Secretary or Minister), an educational council, a secretariat for inspection and an institute for promoting education and training. These agencies work closely with the republican self-management communities of interest in education and through a process of interaction and cross-membership interact with delegates drawn from the various organisations of associated labour, the municipalities and the socio-political organisations.

The Secretary performs essentially a political function as the person directly responsible to the political Assembly for the performance of the educational function and, collectively with his fellow executive councillors, for the government in general. As we shall see later, he plays an important part in inter-republican and inter-provincial co-ordination.

As we have already pointed out, the duties of the Education Council include the approval of educational plans and programmes (especially for the elementary and common phase of secondary education), the setting of textbook standards and approval of individual texts, standards for teaching aids and equipment, and arrangements for pre-service and in-service training of teachers.

The Inspectors work within the secretariat for the Council and have a limited role, with no responsibility for assessing or guiding individual teachers. Their job is to see that the law and any enforceable agreements are observed, for example, the years of compulsory attendance and the hours of work.

The Institute for Promoting Education and Training is the source of professional information, advice and guidance, including teacher performance and curriculum. It gives help to the self-management communities of interest for education in understanding the work of schools and in assessing their allocation of resources from year to year.

In accordance with the principles discussed in Chapter II, the Self-Management Communities of Interest in Education are established jointly by workers in productive enterprises and in social activities, together with workers in other self-management communities and the workers in the education field itself. These communities of interest are organised on a geographical basis for pre-school and elementary education and the common phase of secondary education, but on a functional basis related to areas of employment at the vocationally directed level of upper-secondary and higher education. They carry the important responsibility of receiving and disbursing funds for education, some part of which are transferred from the richer to the poorer regions and republics in accordance with the solidarity principle.

The Socio-Political Organisations, of which the League of Communists of Yugoslavia is the most significant, share in the educational process in a much more direct way than do the political parties in other OECD countries. They stimulate, guide and monitor the carrying out of the transformation of education towards the attainment of the new objectives.

This listing of the various agencies involved in the oversight of education within a republic does not, perhaps, sufficiently emphasise the impact of the Yugoslav system of delegation. Delegates act in line with the views expressed by those who elect them, making for a complex and time-consuming process. It is perhaps a commentary on the cumbersome character of this process that new arrangements are sometimes put into effect before they have been formally adopted.

## National Co-ordination

Each republic and autonomous province determines its own policies and priorities in education within the general framework of the nationally-endorsed principles of socialist self-management and lifelong education, the latter being preferably on a deferred and part-time basis at the post-school level. While the political and socio-political institutions at the federal level are directly involved in the development of the new education principles, they have no part in measures for co-operation and co-ordination in education among the republics and provinces.

National co-operation and co-ordination is effected through consultation among the higher agencies within each republic. The principal agencies are the Inter-Republican and Inter-Provincial Commission for the Transformation of Education and the Standing Conference of Republican and Provincial Institutes for Promoting Education.

The Commission considers the more important issues arising from the reform and the provisions of draft agreements; some of these are binding on all persons; others are simply binding on the parties to them. It conveys its conclusions to organisations of the federation or the republics and provinces as circumstances dictate. In the absence of a more suitable agency, the Commission also deals with issues in the education of workers temporarily abroad and their children and with international issues. The Commission is made up of three delegates from each member nominated by the executive government, who are usually the Secretary, the President of the Council and the Director of the Institute.

The chairman is usually one of the secretaries, chosen in rotation for a term of one year. There is no permanent secretariat, that function being performed by an agency in the republic of the chairman. Meetings are held in various places and, in spite of the informal arrangements, occur usually at monthly intervals. Somewhat surprisingly, the present practice is for a range of federal agencies to join in the work of the Commission, for example, the Socialist Alliance, the Confederation of Trade Unions, the Chamber of the Economy and the Yugoslav Peoples Army.

The Conference is made up of delegates from the republican and provincial Institutes. As in the Commission, the chairmanship rotates and carries the secretarial arrangements with it. Its functions include the consideration of specialised and professional questions, such as planning programmes and curriculum; the scale of professional and technical qualifications; and the teaching service. The Conference employs a range of committees to assist it. It offers professional analyses and advice to the Commission.

In addition to these two agencies, which can be regarded as part of the formal machinery, other bodies are engaged in inter-republican co-operation. Examples range from conferences of self-management communities of interest for education to meetings of representatives of universities and meetings of specialised agencies engaged in textbook publication or in information-documentation, to editors of educational journals and conferences of professional societies.

The only federal specialised agencies with responsibilities in education are the Federal Administration for International Scientific, Educational, Cultural and Technical Co-operation and the Commission for Co-operation with UNESCO. The role of these bodies is essentially that of liaison and they work with the Institutes, which join with them in representing Yugoslav education internationally.

Co-operation within republics is also by means of the Yugoslav delegation and consensus system which not only requires the participation of a very large number of people in the development and assessment of ideas, but also consumes much time before agreement can be reached, documents written, and decisions implemented. We have learned that, of the two initial basic enactments to arise from the 1974 reform, the first - a social compact for a uniform classification of professional and technical qualifications to be obtained through the education and training system - was signed during our May 1980 visit to Yugoslavia; and the second - the agreement of the socialist republics and autonomous provinces on the common basis of the system of education throughout Yugoslavia - is still under discussion.

## The Role of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia

This outline of the machinery for co-operation and co-ordination among the republics and autonomous provinces has been sketchy, but it should demonstrate that the process is a complex one and involves a wide range of interests, including not only the clients of the service as well as the providers, but wider economic, industrial, political and social interests. We complete this outline with a further reference to a socio-political institution which has a particular and significant role in educational reform - the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

The League is the source of political ideology for all forms of human endeavour among the people of Yugoslavia. It provides much more than a political party platform as the Western democracies know it. The reform of education under the principle of socialist self-management derives from the resolution on education of the 10th Congress of the League in 1974, and at all levels and in all situations in society, organisations of the League provide guidance and stimulus for the adoption of the policies of the reform. As visitors, we were told that the League does not issue directions, although its members play an important part in the development of the new approach. The members themselves are activists in their neighbourhoods and their places of work. Being chosen for their zeal and their capacities for leadership they are therefore influential far beyond their arithmetic proportions in the population where they comprise, we gather, only about 10 per cent.

## The Exercise of Power

Against the background of this administrative framework for the broad education system in Yugoslavia, we have considered the issues of power, control and choice. We have tried to reach conclusions on how power is exercised, how control is maintained and how both individuals and groups can make an effective choice. These questions about the real sources and degrees of power and of control arise, of course, in any society, whether that society be capitalist or socialist. The novelties of Yugoslav social administration make them especially interesting to other countries.

In Yugoslavia, as we have ssen, the basic principle of educational policy is that people who work in or with socially-owned means of production should not only be directly involved in decision-making, but should be the principal contributors to that process. As the ideal evolves they will exercise their choice about particular educational services without the need to rely on intermediaries to interpret their wishes or to moderate them to external forces. The people themselves will also act in the spirit of solidarity and togetherness in the interest of equality and mutual respect among all the people of the republics and of the various nationalities. The philosophy for education envisages that young people and adults will develop their capacity for self-management not simply to further their education, but also as a contribution to the wider culture and society.

We recall some of the problems and shortcomings which contributed to the development of the new education policy by the League of Communists in 1974. These included dualism, that is inequality of access to courses in secondary education and beyond; and the absence of a sufficient degree of solidarity and reciprocity to bring about a substantial reduction in the difference in opportunity and in resources available to individual family groups and to local and regional community groups. There was the overriding consideration that against the background of the substantial progress they have made since liberation, the people of Yugoslavia have formed aspirations and demands for better education to a degree well beyond the immediate prospective capacity of their economy.

How far, then, does the emerging administrative framework contribute to the new ideal? We appreciate that a substantial degree of devolution and regional decision-making is an imperative for Yugoslavia. The nation is an amalgam of cultural, language and religious groups with tenacious historical roots, and its governmental processes must reflect the rights and preferences of all national groups, including those who have come from the neighbouring states, if the nation is to survive. We were greatly impressed by the degree of this commitment, for example in careful arrangements to allow children to learn in their mother tongue. Such a commitment requires substantial additional resources in education. In Vojvodina, which is among the more affluent areas, schooling is available in five languages, including in Rumanian for one per cent of students and in Ruthenian for even fewer. We saw a similar commitment in Kosovo, the least developed part of the country, where the schooling is available in three languages, including arrangements for a Turkish minority of less than 3 per cent. We acknowledge and commend also the national commitment to contribute to the education of Yugoslav adults and children abroad, to the extent that practical arrangements can be worked out with the host countries.

More generally, we think that the Yugoslavs are to be congratulated for their strongly proclaimed and universally endorsed principle of the freedom of choice of individuals. This includes not only freedom to move about the country in search of education, but also freedom not to be required to move about in search of work. We were given many examples of situations in which individuals can move by their choice to take account of specific educational opportunities. We noted, however, that suitable accommodation for students was not always available and that only 15 per cent of post-school students receive scholarships. This led us to question whether unequal access to post-school education has been overcome. In Vojvodina we were told that a person who has obtained a professional or technical qualification and finds himself out of employment may continue to receive unemployment benefits indefinitely, and cannot be obliged to take up employment outside the special vocation for which he or she is qualified. We wondered whether this particular manifestation of individual freedom was justified or even possible to sustain in the Yugoslav economy.

We feel we must question also the capacity of the country to extend the concept of vocationally-oriented education throughout each republic and province to the extent necessary to bring about reasonable equality of opportunity as between country and city students, whether they be young people or adults. In any event, the policy of narrow specialisation from the beginning of the upper secondary school as part of a vocationally-oriented education system may, in many cases, subsequently limit freedom of choice.

In these and in other ways, a serious dilemma exists between individual freedom of choice and social diversification. In practice, the freedom of the individual and the exercise of personal choice is subjugated to the corporate voice of workers in associated labour at various levels of economic and social organisation. One illustration of this conflict which warrants special mention is the arrangement for the writing, publication and issue of textbooks. In each republic there is a control mechanism to ensure that only sound and stable textbooks are available in schools. This is the responsibility of a specialist textbook publishing institute which operates within decisions taken by the Educational Council. Procedures cover the determination of the content, the invitation for bids for preparation of the text, the assessment of manuscripts, the awarding of contracts to authors, and the subsequent production and distribution. The result is an approved text for a particular subject, or perhaps two or more approved texts. We fear that this highly directed arrangement limits the process of devolved decision-making and the freedom of choice of individuals.

We have doubts also about the application of the principle of solidarity and brotherhood. At least as between republics and provinces, that principle seems to rely upon the judgement of the better-off republics as to how generous each will be in assisting its less developed neighbours, rather than on consensus among all parties. In education there is no composite or external authority with the power to mediate among the republican authorities or adjudicate between the expressed aspirations of the recipients of solidarity aid and its donors.

From our limited observations, it appears that the major inter-republican agencies for co-operation in education are not directly involved in this task, but the power and authority rests with the agencies which provide the funds. If our understanding is correct, this most important element in fostering equality and freedom to choose throughout the nation is beyond the influence of the most senior educational agencies.

No doubt in the wider context of economic and social planning in Yugoslavia there are measures for developing national, as distinct from regional or composite approaches to important issues. In education, however, we question whether the aggregation of the results of independent decisions by various groups can automatically satisfy national needs and national forward priorities in education and in the training of particular categories of workers. We cite as an example the need for nationally collated information and a national impact on the priority to be accorded to one of the important educational objectives - the move towards universal availability of pre-school education. During our visit we could not obtain up-to-date statistics of the extent to which pre-school opportunities are available throughout the country. From our enquiries we learned that more than 90 per cent attend pre-school in the year prior to elementary school in Vojvodina, and that in Montenegro and Kosovo the equivalent figure is less than 5 per cent. However, we saw nothing in the solidarity fund system that was directed towards establishing equal opportunities to attend pre-school for all Yugoslav children.

We are, of course, aware that the realisation in practice of any theory of equal educational opportunity has hitherto eluded political and administrative systems everywhere, and in all countries some individuals and groups are better placed than others to take advantage of education and training opportunities. But the more complex the political and administrative structure, the more opportunity there is likely to be for some to exercise undue influence. Yugoslav administration is certainly complex. We therefore wonder whether there are channels through which particular individuals and groups play a leading role in the oversight of the formal educational processes.

The special place of the League of Communists in Yugoslav society illustrates part of the dilemma that the people face in giving effect to the new education policy. The League is the source of the insistence that common solutions and a substantial degree of unity be agreed for the benefit of the people. It is, at the same time, a leading proponent of the concept that matters be settled by informed and voluntary agreement among people with equal rights and voices. In our view, though, the administrative arrangements and procedures in operation in Yugoslavia today produce a substantial degree of commonality in the provision of education, the realisation of the equality ideal remains an intention rather than an accomplished fact.

We are sceptical about the idea that the state will wither away, but we acknowledge the substantial commitment of the Yugoslav people towards this end, and their wish to proceed even further with the process of devolution in favour of the basic organisations of associated labour. In the short term, the process will be gradual. For the present and the immediate future we see a need for more effective decision-making machinery at the national, republican and regional levels. National co-ordination in which the federal authorities participate need not mean federal domination, especially in the case of Yugoslavia where the republics are the principal source of funds.

More particularly, in the Yugoslav federation there is a case for some permanent machinery for providing professional and technical support to those who are involved in co-ordination and co-operation in education between the republics and the provinces. Experience in other OECD federations has demonstrated the need for an organised secretariat with highly qualified, even if limited, resources to underpin the operations of the inter-republic Commission and Conference. We wonder whether the republics and provinces in Yugoslavia acknowledge that there would be advantage in such an arrangement and whether they have in fact contemplated it. We would also ask whether the education authorities would be free to take such action themselves without reference to the federal and republican political assemblies. In our experience, it is not necessary for this particular function to be undertaken by people working at the level of the federation. However, we would see advantage if they could join in the gathering of information and advice.

In this regard, it was interesting to learn from the Belgrade Report that there are proposals for the creation of an inter-republican/provincial system for co-ordination and co-operation in educational information and documentation. This is envisaged as becoming the responsibility of a centre which will supplement the work of individual republics and contribute to international work in this field. We wish the centre an early birth and trust that it will grow to vigorous and active adulthood, and indeed that it will be the forerunner of a large and healthy family.

In this chapter we have tried to draw on the review of the form and content of the new order for education in Yugoslavia to identify the processes of administration and the exercise of authority in wider policy matters. We have sought to offer constructive criticism about the administrative framework and, in doing so, readily acknowledge that there are imperfections and uncertainties in the administration of education in our own countries.

# VII

## EDUCATION, LIFE AND WORK

The existence of elaborate formal systems of education often obscures a commonplace about life. Learning is a dimension of living: it is not a stage in the life cycle. Formal education has traditionally been identified with childhood and indeed its historical origins lie in *rites de passage* from childhood to adulthood. For the vast majority in the past, to be adult has been to put away childish things, to start work and to be done with education.

Even today, formal schooling, for all its elaboration, extension and expansion, is still essentially rooted in social definitions of childhood and the adolescent *rites de passage* of primitive society. But a new and potentially revolutionary idea has captured the imagination of contemporary educationalists. It is, in effect, to revitalise the commonplace about learning - to recognise lifelong learning and turn it into a formal system. The Yugoslav plan is to do just that, and our task in this chapter is to examine the idea in the context of economic, political and educational developments as we have described them in the preceding chapters.

The idea is labelled in a variety of ways - *l'éducation permanente*, recurrent education, lifelong learning, adult education, or, what is perhaps becoming standard, continuing education. The phrases vary in nuance and recurrent education particularly stresses arrangements for alternating work and learning. They all, however, begin essentially with appreciation of the fact that all social encounters either enlighten or stupefy, and they proceed from this premise to reappraise inherited education systems in terms of the implications for education, life and work. With the traditional conception of life-cycle stages abandoned, every aspect of formally-organised schooling can be called into question. Pedagogues are no longer monopsonists, though they might enjoy hegemony. The established starting point of age 7 loses its validity, for learning begins at birth. Leaving ages lose their meaning, for the only end to learning is death. The school loses its boundaries, for learning occurs everywhere. The lecture, the tutorial, the essay, and the laboratory demonstration become only specialised forms of the pedagogical arts, for learning is by multi-media. Educational attainment has to be explained in terms of an individual's total experience of life and work within which formal schooling contributes only a part. Qualifications are similarly redefined to include non-academic as well as academic achievement.

Thus the place of the teacher and the school in a system of continuing education is redefined. A new professionalism is invited. Recognising that he can never monopolise learning, the new teacher is challenged to develop the skills appropriate to facilitating, managing and planning the learning dimension of the life of his pupils or students. If the idea of continuing education is to be fully realised, the teaching professions have collectively to learn how to be effective partners with all the major social institutions - the family, the work place, the media, and the social and political organisations - so as to maximise the opportunities for learning which are given to people at every stage and in every facet of their lives.

Two features of conventionally expanded systems of education have strongly influenced the new interest in a transition to continuing education. They are related to what we referred to in Chapter I as the pull of industry and the push of politics. The first is an incentive of success, the second of failure. As the productive skills demanded by advanced industrialism have grown, so the demand for further training and repair of obsolescent knowledge has also grown. Success has multiplied demand. On the other hand, the push towards enlarged educational opportunity has met with widespread disappointment and socially-skewed substantive as distinct from universal formal opportunity. Equality remains elusive for educational reformers and effective demand restricted to the relatively advantaged.

Expansion of traditional educational arrangements is no guarantee of equal social opportunities. The political push may be in the egalitarian direction, but the industrial pull, in the context of an inherited and unequal structure of opportunities, may reproduce inequality within a society which is admittedly educationally more advanced. The experience of educational expansion has taught us that, considered as an economic good, education has a dual character. It is both a consumption and a "positional" good(1). As a consumption good its expansion serves society. As a positional good expansion merely compels previously privileged groups to raise their educational norms in order to maintain their relative advantages. Thus, the educational threshold of entry to a wide range of occupations is raised, but social access to them retains the same pattern and inequality persists.

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1) F. Hirsch, *The Social Limits to Growth*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1976, and Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1977.

The expansion of higher education has sharply illustrated these difficulties, as we have shown in Chapter V. It receives, as we have put it, the cumulation of inequality from the earlier stages of education. Its expansion, while formally open, is in fact a greater opportunity for the more advantaged social groups. Moreover, insofar as it is responsive to demand for post-qualification courses, it again operates as a positional good and reinforces the perpetuation of social inequality.

The traditional university, in Yugoslavia as in other OECD countries, evolved in a historical context which largely restricted access to a tiny minority of the powerful and privileged. It never had to face, but on the contrary took advantage of, the structural inequality of the labour market, and it could rely on a continuing acquiescence because of the restricted horizons of the mass of people who saw it as "not for the likes of us". Expansionist reform in the liberal framework has gone a long way towards producing meritocratic institutions. But this is a limited gesture to the claims of equality - a move only in the direction of offering equal chances to become unequal. Such a social situation is unstable. Relative deprivation increases as educational horizons expand. The expansion of an elite system as experienced in the OECD countries in the 1960s and 1970s can at most offer its prizes to one in five of the population before the costs become politically impracticable and established standards of amenity are threatened. Already and characteristically the liberal solution is in any case menaced by one form or another of the binary policy which is, in effect, an escape from the dilemma of "over-supply" of competitors in the educational competition for entry to the best paid, best respected and most desired professions and occupations.

A socialist country like Yugoslavia might therefore be expected to try to separate university education from its exclusive connection with highly paid jobs. It would go beyond the (in any case unsuccessful) pursuit of equality of opportunity towards direct equality. And it would no longer rely on an unchallenged hierarchy of non-competing lifestyles. Instead, a socialist education system would seek to realise fraternity through a common culture within which the value of different elements is not obscured by, and confused with, the material price of their pursuit.

Within this wider programme of radical social reform, the appropriate educational strategy would be that of continuing education in a pluralist system and not that of extension of the narrow limits of the liberal heritage. The Yugoslavs have taken the view that to persist in a policy which consists only in pushing back those limits would be to assume that neither equality nor fraternity ever attained their rightful expression in the learning dimension of social life.

Even the restricted goal of equality of educational opportunity would remain a sham because educational attainment is so clearly determined more by the pyramid of power and advantage in the families, neighbourhoods and ethnic groups in which children are reared than by the formal arrangements of schools and colleges.

These are the terms of the new debate. Educational policy is meaningless except in a wider context of social policy. The Yugoslav experiment in socialist self-management and continuing education enables us to carry the discussion beyond preliminary theory to the study of a relevant concrete case. We have so far discussed continuing education in the context of social equality, echoing a widespread concern in the failure, or at any rate limited success, of prevailing policies. Nevertheless, this is by no means the whole story, either in OECD countries in general, or in Yugoslavia in particular. Another approach is to be had by first noticing that a worker in industrial society will commonly spend at least 100,000 hours of his life at work. The question of how to arrange the life-cycle of education, work, leisure, and retirement is accordingly an intriguing calculation-cum-gamble for the free man or woman. The allocation of 100,000 hours is, to be sure, a vital question for egalitarian policy, but it can claim attention also from the point of view of individual liberty. Industrial men and women are doubtless freer from toil than their grandparents. Nevertheless, these libertarian trends cannot be presumed fully to have taken even the rich countries out of the world of unremitting toil or to have placed them satisfactorily in the world of social complexity which calls for maximum flexibility in the arrangement of their affairs.

The idea of a flexible contract between citizen and society, covering education, work, leisure and social security is now much discussed in OECD countries(1). Nowhere is the idea more enthusiastically received than in Yugoslavia, where it is taken for granted that responsible government on behalf of individual liberty has to go beyond the enforcement of contracts voluntarily entered into and the natural tendencies of men to conspire against the rigours of the free market. Nevertheless, as we have sought to make clear in previous chapters, Yugoslav socialism is liberal in its search for ways to increase freedom of choice for the individual in modern society. And, like any other modern society, capitalist or communist, Yugoslavia is committed to the efficient production of abundance, the maintenance of full employment, and the abolition of all unnecessary labour.

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1) The prophet of flexibility in this context is Gösta Rehn, the Swedish labour economist. See G. Rehn, "Flexibility in Working Life", in S. Mushkin (ed.), Recurrent Education. National Institute of Education, Washington, 1973.

On these assumptions, if behind a different political rhetoric, Yugoslavia, like Sweden, seeks deliberately greater variation and diversity in the life patterns of education, work, leisure and retirement in such a way as to transfer decision as far as possible from the bureaucracy to the individual, the underlying conception is of a new social contract. The individual has a lifelong bargain with society to work in exchange for material rewards. In such a society the individual, within a broad framework of agreed rules, would determine the phasing and pacing of the exchange, week by week, year by year and over the course of his whole lifetime. The sharp divisions of the life-cycle, bequeathed by the harsh necessities of pre-industrial society and entrenched in the rigid formulae of statutory school leaving ages, weekly hours, annual holidays and compulsory retirement ages, would go. Instead there would be "flexi-time", study rights at personal discretion, vacation rights not tied to calendar years, sabbaticals and temporary retirements not tied to old age.

In order to effect these new freedoms, which are in any case gradually and patchily appearing in the rich countries, it is desirable (though not absolutely necessary) to systematise the piecemeal arrangements we already have for providing income to those who are not in paid employment because they are young and in school or unemployed or pregnant or sick or old and therefore retired. Collectively, a country has to decide on the generalised drawing rights to be allocated to each citizen. Of course, in a developed social contract safeguards would have to be built in against those with undue preference for "a short life but a gay one" and not all state or community payments to individuals need be or could be included. But the general idea stands as a proposal for the reduction of bureaucracy and the enlargement of personal choice. As such it describes faithfully a major component of the Yugoslav intent.

Indeed, the Belgrade Report makes it plain that recurrent education is a principle on which they intend to rely for further development. It is not, of course, the only principle. We have already discussed the general framework of socialist self-management within which educational reform is taking place. However, the Yugoslavs see themselves now at the beginning of a third developmental stage, where the first was statist, and the second was self-managing. In this third stage the distinguishing concept is that of continuing education which is interpreted by a Resolution of the Federal Assembly in 1970 as a policy with the following elements:

1. "The concept of lifelong education demands the building of an integral and differentiated system of education, linked in its interior and accessible at all levels. The unity and co-ordination i.e. mutual functional linkage of the educational curricula and institutions in both the

horizontal and vertical direction, is a condition for constituting a more elastic education system."

2. "It is necessary to ensure that all levels of education after the elementary level offer knowledge and develop capabilities which enable direct engagement in labour and a continuation of education."
3. "All forms of education of the young and of adult education are equal among themselves and together form inseparable parts of the unified education system."
4. "It is necessary, through the financial policy and by linking various forms of education, to overcome dualism, institutionalism and the division into education within the school system and education in work organisations, adult education centres and other forms of education."
5. "It is necessary in the education system to create greater possibilities of choice of the types of schooling, learning, studying and self-education."
6. "All factors of social development, particularly work organisations and socio-political communities, must in future systematically and co-ordinately develop education with work as a part of the education system of the youth and adults, who will be increasingly engaged in work and continue education without discontinuing the labour relationship."
7. "The higher the educational level of an individual, the greater the share of part-time education has to be as a way for acquiring and fulfilling education. In this way, material possibilities for increasing the accessibility of education and its massive aspect are expanded."

The radical character of the new concept is fully appreciated by the Yugoslavs. They are aware of both its libertarian and egalitarian implications. They understand, in other words, that their plans and hopes are both to maximise and to harmonize the free choice of individuals and the occupational and cultural needs of society. They see the future structure of education not as hitherto in four phases, but in two. The first phase of pre-schooling and elementary schooling is of a larger and common syllabus, followed by a second phase of vocationally-oriented secondary and higher education integrated with work and life to form a diversity of opportunities which are never final because they are lifelong. They understand, too, that the concept goes beyond schooling to involve the family, the workplace, the political and social organisations, and the mass media as partners in a total scheme of learning. And they believe that the multiple partnership entailed requires and can be delivered only in an environment of democratic participation by both the producers and the users of knowledge.

Reactions to all this in other OECD countries will vary widely between the exhilaration of perennially optimistic educational progressives, and the disbelief of disillusioned educational pessimists. For ourselves we are impressed by the plan and cautious about its outcome. The principle of recurrent education, we are aware, has had widespread acceptance in the OECD Member countries. But practice dawdles behind principle. In 1979 CERI assessed events in recent years, using the phrase "progress and stagnation", and concluding that:

> "it is therefore not unduly cynical to pose the question whether recurrent education, originally conceived during the period of educational expansion, will face the fate of being one of those educational ideas that are verbally and policywise accepted and supported but with very little impact on educational practice. Such a scenario can certainly not be excluded as we are approaching the 1980s with serious uncertainties concerning the economy, employment and public expenditures. However, it might also be that this new and emerging socio-economic situation will accelerate the development of recurrent education(1)."

Is Yugoslavia, we may ask, on the way to a continuous education system irrespective of fashion or economic growth? Of course, in Yugoslavia, as elsewhere, we are discussing principles and plans more than history and establishment. Yet the Yugoslav version of linking reform in education, work and social management certainly appeals as a coherent intellectual construction. On the other hand, even about the general conception there can be legitimate doubt. From the vantage point of individual choice, caution suggests that the underlying assumptions are somewhat flattering to ordinary mortals. They postulate a world of individuals who are not only intelligent and calculating marginalists, but also people who would have the strength of their libertarian convictions and would thus be willing to accept the cruelties of life's uncertainty as well as the tragedies of youthful folly.

Such general theoretical caution is well taken. Nevertheless, at the level of practice the reality of individual choice is already an improvement in the existing Yugoslav system over what it was in the system inherited from before the Second World War - a set of institutions like that all over traditional Europe which condemned the majority to an elementary education which was terminal, and a brief prelude to a life of manual work. The further plans in Yugoslavia can, at the very least, be expected to yield some further

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1) Recurrent Education for the 1980s: Trends and Policies, OECD/CERI, Paris (forthcoming).

loosening of the traditional ties between social origin and occupational destination, even if they do not result in a maximally open society as defined by the most rigid theoretical conception.

Similarly, egalitarian critics may entertain their theoretical doubts. They are of two basic kinds. First, it may be questioned whether, notwithstanding the emancipation of learning opportunities from the strict confines of the formal school system, any social or political plans can encompass and discipline to the principle of equality all influence on learning. At some point equality of educational opportunity can only be obtained at the cost of freedom. This is true even where, as in Yugoslavia, formal private education is forbidden. It is massively and endemically true when it comes to parental teaching "in the kitchen". Second, even the most determined programme of "positive discrimination", multiple and repeated educational opportunities, alternative routes or other devices must find its limits in practicability and in the limitations of social and psychological science. After all, we simply do not know what is the optimal learning environment of individual A compared with individual B; yet that knowledge is a precondition of establishing full equality of opportunity between them. But again, the reply is similar. Both current practice and future plans in Yugoslavia are an improvement on the inequalities of the past. Though we have noted the limitations of solidarity funding, the reply cannot be gainsaid. The argument is one of more or less. Experience, not theory, will be the ultimate test of the idea of continuing education in its Yugoslav version. From this point of view and more concretely, we can raise two issues, one from institutional experience, the other from the strategy for finance.

The institutional experience is that of the Yugoslav Workers' Universities or, as they may be perhaps more accurately described, adult education centres. The general point here is that transformation to continuing education is at first just as much backward- as forward-looking. A country which develops as rapidly as Yugoslavia has done must face a dramatic version of injustice between generations - what we referred to in Chapter I as being "born too early" to profit from reform. The Yugoslav Workers' Universities have tackled this problem with conspicuous vigour. They have served a vital purpose in giving opportunities to adults brought up in the unreformed system. Led in the 1950s by the concern of the trade unions to educate workers for participation in self-management, they have made an enormous contribution to the spread of literacy among adults and to meeting the urgent educational needs of particular groups of workers. They have been schools of democratic participation. But their very success and the passing of time has undermined their function and their future. They are in this sense stranded in a particular and early phase of educational reform.

Schools now make unnecessary what they previously had to repair. The further development of continuing education with its provision for part-time and recurrent education linked to work and career must either find a definite place for the Workers' University or allow them to become vestigial institutions.

It is not clear to us what will become of the Workers' Universities. They are not unequivocally part of the higher education system or of the elementary and secondary schooling, though they do work on all these levels. Nor are they either work places or entertainment centres. Some are more active than others. Some are heavily engaged with the education of *Gastarbeiter* and their children abroad, some are flourishing centres of popular culture and entertainment. But others give us the impression of low morale and uncertain purpose.

Where this is so, it is discouraging not only in itself but in the wider perspective of continuing education as a dimension of life rather than a reconstruction of formal educational arrangements. Every social encounter, we have asserted, carried with it educational implications. Continuous education in its fully-developed form would therefore occupy a strategic place in all of the social and cultural life of the child and the adult. In its conception and its heyday the Workers' University came close to occupying that position. It is, of course, aimed primarily at the ordinary worker, but its concern has never been solely with work. If it is about to decline into desuetude, this is because other social organisations of leisure, notably television and other formal organisations of education (the expanding opportunities for attendance at schools and colleges) are displacing it.

But does this not indicate a shortcoming in the Yugoslav vision of continuous education? Should we not expect to see positive plans for expansion of the Workers' Universities in the posited third stage of educational development? And is this not part of a more general logic of continuous education in which all social organisations, informal as well as formal, are drawn into, or at least heavily influenced by, a conscious pedagogical policy?

There are, to be sure, obvious dangers here of a new tyranny. It is always a basic problem of any revolutionary régime that it must ensure the allegiance of its citizens. Indeed, as the self-management movement amply demonstrates, a fundamental task of the revolution is to create social conditions which encourage people to develop those qualities of social personality on which the success of revolution depends. The Yugoslavs have recognised this in their provision for self-management courses in schools, and their arrangements for recruitment of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia by selection rather than election.

Yet prosperity and freedom also create space for other influences. In one sense the increase of money in private pockets, television in every household, shorter hours of work, etc. represent achievements of the revolutionary aims. But in another sense they change the conditions of freedom and control. Social and political consciousness become amenable to new forces. Consequently, either tacitly by inaction or purposefully by exercising some kind of political control, Yugoslavia or any other country, has a policy. It can be a policy of laissez-faire or, to put it pejoratively, of rampant individualism. Or it can be a policy of tight control or, to put it equally pejoratively, of political tyranny. No OECD country has placed itself at either of these extremes. But the exact position taken is everywhere subject to continual debate.

To illustrate from another country there has never ceased to be contention in Britain as to how far the government should control the content of BBC broadcasting. The dominant doctrine of the BBC's first and powerful director, Lord Reith, was that the cultural level of programmes should, as opportunity and response allowed, be tilted slightly in the direction of "high" rather than "popular" culture. The perennial criticism has been that this Reithian doctrine offends the principle of democracy. The defence has been that minority tastes need protection and that, since the demos has decreed educational expansion, the mass media must support by staying somewhat ahead of today's educational level in anticipation of tomorrow's tastes.

Taking a second example from Yugoslavia itself, we were struck by the absence of pornography which is ubiquitous in Western cities. The use of sexual titillation on advertisement hoardings and the display of pornographic magazines is (we think, mercifully) not a feature of, for example, Zagreb or Novi Sad. We were impressed in observing young people on the evening streets of Belgrade by a sense of relative innocence and decorum more reminiscent of inter-war Paris or London than present-day Hamburg or Amsterdam. These phenomena are not accidental. Our hosts reminded us that we were visiting at a time of national mourning for the death of Tito. Yet we would still insist on the contrast and, in any event, the example of public sexual mores serves to illustrate our point that, in a country which takes continuous education seriously, a very wide range of difficult political decisions have to be taken about the scope and the method of educational intrusion into the totality of social life. Our question is whether the Yugoslavs are thinking, or intend to think, systematically through the policy issues involved.

What they clearly are doing is to analyse the implied relation between continuous education and working life. On this, and finally, we would mention what we would see as a serious potential problem of finance. The financial aspect of self-management has been a recurring theme of our discussion. We have noted its dependence on solidarity funds for equality of distribution and on BOALs for its linkage of education to work. Neither of these features is beyond question in the search for financial underpinning of the idea of free individual choice and social equality. Both of these problems seem to us to be likely to persist even supposing that the general shortage of funds for educational activity is overcome. The problem is, in a sense, circular. It will require enlightened self-sacrifice on the part of BOALs and communities to freeze personal income and consumption to ensure both adequate investment in a changing technology and adequate funding of work-training. This itself challenges the educational sympathies of the participating workers. Moreover, beyond the direct interest of workers, continuing education makes large claims for the unemployed and the retired. The bonds of solidarity and fraternity will be severely tested if the needs of these groups are to be satisfied. The observer, however well disposed, is bound to wonder whether a fully-developed continuing education can be supported by a financial system so heavily dependent on decisions in the workplace.

Part Two

## RECORD OF THE REVIEW MEETING

(Paris, 14 November 1980)

# I

## INTRODUCTION

The OECD Education Committee met in Paris on 14 November 1980, with its delegates from Member countries surrounding the Yugoslav Delegation, the examiners, and members of the Secretariat. There was a cordial atmosphere and considerable excitement in the knowledge that eighteen years had elapsed since Yugoslavia, an avowedly socialist OECD country, had submitted its education system for critical discussion in this international forum of informed educationists.

The eighteen years had been ones of remarkable political, economic, and educational development, as both the 'Belgrade' and the Examiners' Reports had made clear. The examiners had used the term 'experiment' with reference to the Yugoslav experience and plans for self-management socialism applied to education. The Yugoslavs, for their part, wished to rid the term 'experiment' of any connotation of tentativeness or lack of permanent commitment, insisting at every point on the decisive quality of their reforms and their complete congruence with the distinctive socialist principles which underlie the general development of Yugoslav society as a whole. The examiners, for their part, readily accepted this vital point. They had been thinking and writing in terms of the long run in which 'industrialism', or 'parliamentary democracy', or 'recurrent education', as well as self-management socialism, can be thought of as historical experiments. They had intended no suggestion of any kind of infirmity of purpose or uncertainty in Yugoslavia with respect to educational reform. They were, rather, emphasising the distinctive historical character of the Yugoslav experience.

The head of the Yugoslav Delegation, Mr. Milan Milutinović, who is the Serbian Secretary for Education and Science, opened the discussion. He put much emphasis on the integration of education in Yugoslavia with other social institutions, and still further emphasised the general principle of Yugoslav social education - self-management socialist democracy - a principle which "has penetrated all the pores of our overall social, economic, and cultural life"... "a way of life and a mechanism for taking all decisions".

Within this guiding principle Mr. Milutinović reiterated how Yugoslavia had passed through three stages of development. His description of them complemented the account written by the examiners in Chapters I and II: in the first phase, all schools were declared state institutions and the entire system of education was rigidly centralised at the outset. Elementary education was of seven years' duration. Further, there were two ways to obtain secondary education: one was through the eight-year (later four-year) gymnasium leading to university training and higher positions in the society; the other was to join the workforce, direct production, through school.

In the second phase, starting in 1958, there was a decentralisation of education and the introduction of complete self-management into the schools. However, the state apparatus continued to exert considerable influence during this phase.

Vital changes were made in the structure of the education system: uniform eight-year compulsory elementary schools were introduced; secondary schools were divided into four-year gymnasia and several types and levels of vocational schools.

The third phase in the development of the structure of the education system began with the adoption of a Resolution by the Federal Assembly in 1970 regarding the development of education on the basis of self-management.

The division of the system into four levels - pre-school, elementary, secondary and higher education - was replaced by the concept of elementary and post-elementary specialised education. The essence of this concept was a stronger linkage between elementary and secondary education syllabi. On the level of secondary education, a broad general and general-vocational education of two-year duration was given to the entire generation; this was followed by differentiation in instruction - with the possibility of choice and change of educational courses and forms, according to personal and social needs and the interests of the pupils. On the whole, general and general-vocational knowledge in secondary education comprised 70-80 per cent of the content while special vocational knowledge accounts for 20-30 per cent. The utilisation of various forms of education was possible on this level: full-time schooling, in-service training or leave from work, instruction in schools, work organisations and evening schools, and instruction through mass media communications and self-education.

The Yugoslavs thus confirmed what the Examiners' Report had described as a distinctive variant of the OECD pattern of educational development which, in addition to fitting into the socio-political system of self-management, also launches Yugoslavia now into a transformation of all secondary and post-secondary schooling into a comprehensive programme of recurrent education.

This programme covered the whole Yugoslav nation. But it was more than a variant on the OECD pattern: it also had adaptive variations within Yugoslavia according to the social and economic conditions and the diverse cultural and linguistic traditions of the republics and provinces which make up the nation. The examiners had made much of these features of internal heterogeneity in Yugoslavia. Mr. Milutinović and his colleagues noted this underlying theme in the Examiners' Report and reinforced it as a general answer to the question of how a uniform system of education can be provided under highly diversified social, economic, cultural, and historical conditions. As Mr. Milutinović put it, "Each of the principles we are supporting has its own internal laws, logic, and system... nothing is left to improvisation. ...Differences in the system of education from republic to republic, and from province to province, we believe, are in many respects an advantage because they reflect specific territorial features and so enhance the system."

These, then, were the three major underlying themes of the day's discussion - the incorporation of education into a wider social system of self-management socialism, the reshaping of education itself along recurrent education lines to bring schools, colleges, industrial training, and learning in general, into harmonious relation with the Yugoslav system of production, and, third, the adaptation of these general national principles to the particular peculiarities and needs of each republic and province.

As such, the Yugoslav past experience and future intention were recognised by the delegates from other countries as offering illumination from a different angle on current difficulties and dilemmas in educational policy. Here was a country which had traversed the familiar territory of educational expansion common to OECD countries in North-West Europe and North America, which had done so as successfully and even more rapidly than such successful countries as Japan, and which had now embarked boldly on a further journey into the much less familiar territory of a post-elementary schooling integrated with a career of the individual as both worker and citizen.

The Yugoslav Delegation came to Paris, however, not only to teach but also to learn. The collective confidence in their national future had been remarked by the examiners, and was fully reflected in the contributions to the discussions made by the Yugoslav delegates. But, as they repeatedly emphasised, the principles to which they are committed in education and social development are no straightjacket of rigid plans but, on the contrary, are to be interpreted flexibly and realistically in practice, with full readiness to modify plans in the light of experience gained in their implementation. Eagerness to listen to criticism, scepticism, and the successes and failures of educational reform in other countries with their varying economic and political contexts, was also therefore part of the Yugoslav approach to the Review Meeting.

The examiners had formulated thirty questions as a framework for the Review Meeting. All participants were aware of them, but the discussion was naturally not divided equally between them, but instead concentrated on those which excited the greatest interest either in their international implications, or as points for the further exploration and elucidation of the Yugoslav system.

In leading the questions the examiners maintained the four themes of interest in their report, namely governance, finance, curriculum, and access. And they put their questions substantially in the same order as that followed by the report, proceeding upwards through the educational levels from pre-school, through elementary and secondary schools, to higher and recurrent education.

The questions arising out of Chapter VI on "Administration, Power, Control and Choice" were, however, scheduled last so as to offer the opportunity of re-emphasising the place of education in the wider economic and political structure of Yugoslavia at the end of the day's discussion.

118

# II

## PRE-SCHOOL PROVISION

### Question 1

It is widely accepted that the last year of pre-school should include an element of formal instruction. Is a more uniform acceptance of this policy desirable? If so, how is it to be implemented? To what extent are differences in the instructional curriculum of pre-school acceptable?

### Question 2

If there is a standard national policy as to the curriculum of pre-school, should there not also be a uniform requirement with respect to attendance? If so, would this not also imply the need for a commitment by the republics to provide the resources needed to raise participation rates?

### Question 3

Is Yugoslavia considering lowering the age of compulsory attendance below the current age of seven? More particularly, is it thought that one year of pre-schooling should be mandatory?

The examiners noted that 255,000 children aged between three and six were enrolled in 3,000 institutions, including not only kindergartens and nursery schools, but also programmes in factories, other enterprises, and elementary schools. Attention was drawn to the fact that compulsory attendance is restricted to those aged seven years, and to wide geographical variations in the availability of places and participation rates. Emphasis was also put on the possibly inequitable consequences of the less-than-universal provision of pre-schooling opportunity.

In reply, the Yugoslavs explained that they were presently introducing school preparatory programmes in the last pre-school year in two ways. For children who attended kindergarten there was a programme throughout the last pre-school year. For other children there was a shortened version of the programme occupying the last three or four months of pre-school, scheduled for two or three times a week, and lasting for 120 hours. These programmes were mandatory in Slovenia for all six-year-olds attending kindergarten. Though not mandatory, they were also, in practice, implemented in Croatia, Vojvodina, and for 40 per cent of the children in Serbia. The curricular intentions were broad, and included the development of linguistic ability as well as aesthetic, physical, and social skills. The idea was to develop in each child his individuality and interests, his emotional development, and all-round preparedness for the school programme which is to follow. There was much less emphasis on the teaching of specific literary and numerical skills.

There was general discussion of the efficacy of pre-school programmes in OECD countries. The Yugoslavs themselves were making no great claim for kindergarten education as a boost to intellectual development in the narrow sense. But they emphasised their impression from teachers that children who had experienced pre-schooling tended to be more talkative and active when they entered the elementary schools. Nor were they under any illusion that pre-school programmes, at least in their present form, could compensate for serious deficiencies in the educational and social development of individual children at home. What they especially looked for was a tendency for the spirit of pre-schooling gradually to pervade elementary education, and to counteract tendencies towards over-rigidity and competitiveness which are thought to be the marks of the traditional elementary school.

In their reply to the second question concerning a standard national policy as to pre-school curriculum, the Yugoslavs again emphasised the autonomy of the republics and provinces in determining the programmes and standards of pre-school education. There was expert professional consultation between the republics and provinces, but it was considered unnecessary to unify funds, that is, the sphere of solidarity funding. The less developed republics and provinces were given global funds for social activities, and they themselves allocated the funds according to their own assessment of needs in their own territories. The Yugoslavs were well aware that age seven is a relatively late starting age for elementary schooling by the norms of OECD countries, and that the curriculum in the first year of elementary school was a demanding one. Not surprisingly, therefore, they were able to report that there was a tendency towards lowering the age of entry, but it was neither universal nor rapid. It was being led by Croatia and Slovenia.

# III

## ELEMENTARY SCHOOLING

### Question 4

To what extent is there concern in Yugoslavia about the wide range of variation in expenditures on elementary schools? Would it be desirable to increase solidarity funds at the republican and the federal levels? Are such increases contemplated or likely to occur?

### Question 5

To what extent are the efforts being made to decentralise the management of elementary schools likely to increase rather than decrease disparities in funding for elementary education? Will existing inequities between communities be exacerbated? Does Yugoslavia intend both to decentralise management and control of elementary education and at the same time increase solidarity funding so as to spread resources more evenly? If so how will this be done?

### Question 6

To what extent is the curriculum substantially controlled from the centre? To what degree does such central control of curriculum weaken the intention to decentralise? What flexibility is allowed to principals and teachers in determining curriculum? What powers in this respect are in the hands of school councils? Given the movement towards decentralisation, are any changes planned in the current method of preparing textbooks and other curricular materials?

### Question 7

Frequent references have been made to an overloaded elementary curriculum. To what extent is this the case? If it is a problem, what do the Yugoslavs intend to do to correct it? Will the intended expansion of the curriculum to include more education for work and for self-management exacerbate the problem? On the other hand, will the extension of general education into the first two years of secondary school reduce the pressure on the elementary curriculum? Will increased formal instruction in the last year of pre-school also help to ease the problem?

Question 8

Yugoslavia is deeply committed to multilingual education. What special pedagogical problems arise from the diversity of language in Yugoslavia? How are these problems dealt with? What are the excess costs above the average costs for unilingual education? Is the commitment to multilinguistic education an open-ended one, in effect with no limits on the cost involved? What recommendations would the Yugoslavs offer to educators in other nations facing similar educational challenges?

Question 9

What provision is made for the education of children of workers abroad? Given the uncertainty of the future for the Workers' Universities, what is being done to develop these arrangements? What relationships have been established with schools and educational authorities in the foreign countries concerned? Are there specific ways in which OECD Member countries could be of help?

The line of questioning for the elementary level of schooling ran along problems which are widespread in OECD countries, that is, geographical variation in expenditure, and the centralisation or de-centralisation of school management. In the light of the principles of development and the internal variety of the country, Yugoslavia might be a particularly instructive case. For example, the province of Kosovo has a per capita social income which is one-third of the Yugoslav average, and one-sixth of the per capita social income of Slovenia. Yet the difference in educational funds, Mr. B. Šefer informed the Education Committee, is only one to two, thus demonstrating the efficacy of the solidarity funding arrangements described in the Examiners' Report. Interestingly, however, the Yugoslavs seem to draw the inference that because the greatest differences were economic rather than educational, the major emphasis should be put on economic development and the equalisation of economic opportunities, rather than on equalising expenditures.

The commitment of Yugoslavia to multilingual education was of particular interest to delegates from other countries, and Question 8 led to a lively discussion. Parity of status for the languages of particular ethnic and regional groups in Yugoslavia goes beyond education to become a basic principle of social life. In schools with linguistically-diverse environments, bilingualism or multilingualism is taken for granted. Both the mother tongue and at least one other language of the social environment is taught to every child whose parents so wish. Thus, for example, in Vojvodina alone, some 80,000 children and students are learning one of the languages of the social environment. Moreover, in secondary schools, an application by 15 pupils, or in higher education by 30 students, will guarantee instruction in the language of the nationality involved.

Equal use of the languages of the nationalities is not, moreover, only a feature of formal instruction, but extends also to extracurricular activities. All pedagogic documentation thus takes account of the multilingual character of Yugoslavia, and teachers receive special training in the nationality languages of the schools in which they teach.

Obviously all this is expensive, and especially in those schools attended by small groups of children with distinctive mother tongues. It was mentioned, for example, that a textbook might have production costs one hundred times as great in one language which is widely used by comparison with another which is used by a small minority: but both are sold at the same price. The financial gap is made up by the provincial or republican self-management community of interest. Yet the Yugoslavs are determined to face this expenditure as a necessary consequence of their determination to respect the linguistic rights of their national minorities.

# IV

## SECONDARY EDUCATION

### Question 10

To what extent have changes been made or are changes proposed in the curriculum of the eight-year school to reflect the advent of ten years of compulsory schooling for virtually all young people?

### Question 11

Given that structural uniformity is not desired, has any attempt been made to compare the merits and demerits of the different models that have been adopted for organising the ninth to twelfth years of schooling?

### Question 12

What is considered to be a reasonable balance between general and vocational education during the ninth and tenth years and the eleventh and twelfth years of schooling?

### Question 13

What measures have been taken or are under consideration for ensuring that all teachers are professionally equipped and motivated to play their part in implementing the reform of secondary education and to keep their knowledge and methods up to date?

### Question 14

Are any specific efforts being made to avoid sex stereotyping in the choice of careers?

Question 15

How effective is the machinery for matching the occupational knowledge and skills of school leavers and the actual needs of the labour market?

Question 16

Have any plans been drawn up for monitoring the effects of the reform of secondary education and for adjusting the system in the light of proven unmet needs or undesirable outcomes?

It will be recalled from Chapter IV that there has been conspicuous progress in Yugoslav secondary schooling such that today 95 per cent of young people in the relevant age group are enrolled in a nine- or ten-year programme, and 80 per cent go on into an eleventh or a twelfth year. It should also be noted, and was much emphasised, that the recent reform in structure and curricula is designed to transform the system from the familiar European pattern of secondary schools (which are segregated essentially according to the further educational and occupational destinations of their students) into a single, multi-purpose school in which general education under a common curriculum is received by all children, and in which an eleventh and a twelfth year is offered with a vocational orientation.

On the side of governance it was also noted that reform has brought a closer involvement of the interests of workers into the School Councils, and that the structure of government reflects these interests most clearly in the eleventh and twelfth year programmes which directly link the experience of pupils to their entry into the labour force. Questions 10 to 16 were put and discussed against this background.

Discussion turned first to curricular change in the transition from an eight-year to a ten-year programme of compulsory schooling (Question 10). The Yugoslav Delegation described how, in most republics, the eight-year elementary curriculum had been linked to the first two years of the common secondary school to provide a unified general education. Then, in those first two secondary years, students are given opportunities to attend short courses which equip them to enter the least complex of the occupations available in the labour market.

The curricular changes vary in their pace and extent in different republics, and the historical legacy of the older system is still to be seen alongside variations in different parts of the country in the method of organising the ninth to the twelfth year of schooling. What is emerging, however, is a first stage of vocationally-directed secondary education, with a polytechnical orientation in the first two years. This is followed by a third stage in the eleventh year of schooling of vocationally-oriented education and, for some, a fourth stage extending through the twelfth year. These stages, however, are not legal requirements. There is no rigid pattern of organisation. In some places, the eight-year elementary school has had a ninth and tenth year of general education added to it. In some other places two-year secondary schools have been formed. In still other places elementary, general secondary, and vocational secondary education are all provided in one building. In yet other cases, separate education centres have been built or adapted to offer two-year or four-year courses for a single occupation. This diversity of structures is being monitored, and debate about the optimal forms of organisation is lively.

Several delegates from other countries raised the question of special organisation for the handicapped on the one hand, and the gifted on the other. The Yugoslav delegates described the development of their arrangements for the physically disabled or mentally retarded. The general principle is to incorporate the least retarded in the ordinary elementary schools, but with adapted curricula. There are also special schools for more severely handicapped children, many of which are boarding institutions. It was also mentioned that, depending on the degree of disability of the children, various forms of professional and vocational training for suitable occupations had been organised at the secondary level. There are also special programmes for children with remarkable capacities. Apart from special pedagogic treatment in the context of the ordinary curriculum, supplementary education is organised for these children, in parallel with the special provision for those who have difficulties in mastering the curriculum. And again there are some special schools for those who show particular and outstanding interest and talent in such fields as music and ballet.

When the organisation of schools and their curricula are changing against a background of rapid expansion of the system, the problems of maintaining a teaching force which is highly motivated and appropriately trained is an important one. This was the thrust of Question 13, and it gave rise to animated discussion. Though the Yugoslav participants were confident that teachers in their country were highly motivated in their freely-chosen profession fully to support and advance the Yugoslav programme of educational reform, it was also made clear that expansion and change put considerable strains on the arrangements for teacher training. These are still largely in the traditional form of organisation through which elementary teachers take two-year training courses after completing their secondary education, while secondary school teachers are trained in the university faculties and in other four-year schools of higher learning. In the various republics there are plans and, in some cases, developments towards the prolongation of the training of elementary school teachers to three or four years. In some republics teachers of foreign languages have well-established, four-year training courses at the universities. It is also fairly common for the newly-recruited teacher to go through a probationary one-year or two-year period under the guidance of more experienced colleagues before taking final examinations and qualifying for independent work.

In-service training has also been developed in Yugoslavia. For example, Bosnia-Herzegovina was used as an illustration where it is planned that, after five years' service in schools, the teachers will attend a course in the appropriate university faculty to bring him or her up-to-date with the developments of the profession over the previous five years. These and other arrangements for in-service training, including discussions, conferences, and work with professional activist groups, were described to give a picture of vigorous efforts in Yugoslavia to expand a teaching profession with command of both subject and method for the modern schools.

Discussion then turned to two important aspects of the reform of post-elementary education designed to articulate it with the productive organisation of Yugoslav society. Question 14 was put from the point of view of equality between men and women, and Question 15, more generally, raised the issue of matching the vocational skills of school leavers to the needs of industry. The examiners had used the phrase 'the labour market', and the Yugoslav Delegation were quick to reject possibly misleading implications of that phraseology. As Dr. Nikolić put it, "In Yugoslavia, education is co-ordinated with the needs of labour, either by way of direct consultation among working people in education and working people in associated labour, or through their consultations with self-management communities of interest. In other words, the Yugoslav emphasis is once again on the integration of education into the economic and social life of the country on the basis of the principles of self-management socialism. Moreover, in the Yugoslav system, this further implies a rejection of conventional manpower planning. In their view, educational needs justify themselves, and are realistically represented by the aspirations of the workers who participate in the machinery of educational governance, and there is widespread sensitivity to the desirability and inevitability of technical change in the future. Thus, it is considered that an industrial enterprise would be misguided if it produced forecasts of manpower requirements for ten or twenty years hence which were specified in terms of precise vocational qualifications. Instead, the factory has to remain aware of technological change, and to translate this awareness into planning for general and flexible vocational education in the elementary and secondary schools, and leaving workers to acquire concrete specialised occupational knowledge through the developing system of recurrent education.

Within this context the question of sex stereotyping in the choice of careers, which was raised in Question 14, is seen in Yugoslavia as not merely a feminist or an educational question, but as a general social and political one. The Constitution decrees equality between men and women, and there are special regulations to protect pregnant women or mothers of small children. Importance is attached to women's right to work and therefore to economic independence. The pre-school organisations are, in part, designed to help working women, and various efforts are made to create a climate in society as well as in the schools which will overcome stereotyping and prejudice concerning the schooling and employment of women. In particular, mention was made of a programme of post-graduate studies at Sarajevo University on 'the humanisation of relations between the sexes and responsible parenthood', to which aid is being given by the United Nations. These post-graduate studies train experts who will study the problem of relations between the sexes, work in guidance centres, and organise lectures and seminars in schools and local communities with a view to more rapid realisation of equality between men and women.

Nor does commitment to the general principle of equality of opportunity lead the Yugoslavs to neglect those with special talents. For example, budding mathematicians are identified as early as the elementary school phase, and offered additional courses in mathematics which continue into the secondary school, and ultimately provide the university faculties of mathematics with highly talented and advanced students. Similar schemes are also in operation for other specialised branches of the sciences and the arts.

The long-run ambition and intention of the Yugoslavs, however, is to give all young people a common and equal education by the age of seventeen, followed by diversified opportunities in careers of recurrent work and educational experience which will give social solidarity to the nation, efficiency to the economy, and maximum freedom to the individual to pursue a satisfactory economic and social life. The realisation of these plans is essentially the responsibility of the republics through their associations of labour and communities of self-interest. It is at this level that the effects of reform are being monitored (Question 16). The republican and provincial institutes for promoting education co-operate actively with university faculties, schools, and work organisations, to give the education services a continuously-revised view of the success of the programme of reform as it proceeds.

# V

## HIGHER AND RECURRENT EDUCATION

### Question 17

We have expressed some concern about the fate of the less readily marketable products of higher education. Are the Yugoslavs satisfied that the system of self-management and free exchange of labour will result in sufficient allocation of resources to cultural as distinct from utilitarian studies?

### Question 18

There seems to be considerable ambiguity and variation in attitudes towards the viša škola. What is the national policy concerning the place of the viša škola in the future of Yugoslav education and how much variation is envisaged between republics?

### Question 19

Slow completion rates in higher education remain an intractable difficulty. Are there plans for more exact analysis of the causes of slow completion rates? Most particularly are the Yugoslavs satisfied that arrangements for students' scholarships and loans will ensure social equality of access to higher education in the future? Are there plans for monitoring the working of self-management from the point of view of the effect of student financing on the social distribution of opportunity?

### Question 20

Does the complicated structure of bargaining and decision concerning higher education in Yugoslavia in effect give power to full-time administrators as against teachers, students, citizens or politically organised workers?

## Question 21

We have discussed the dangers involved in a transition to continuing education from the point of view of equality of opportunity between individuals. From this point of view we have expressed concern about the future of the Workers' Universities. What is the future fate of the Workers' University? Is it to become a vestigial institution? Or will the Workers' University be developed as an instrument of positive discrimination within a policy intended to equalise opportunity?

## Question 22

What are the Yugoslav intentions with respect to other social organisations of leisure in the context of the development of continuing education? What in particular are the intentions with respect to television? What is the Yugoslav view of the dilemma we have posed between a policy of laissez-faire and one of tight control over the mass media and the leisure organisations? Is Yugoslavia thinking or intending to think systematically through the policy issues we have outlined?

## Question 23

Are the Yugoslavs satisfied that, as continuing education develops, there will be funding which is both adequate and fairly distributed? What steps will be taken to ensure adequate funding of work training? How will the educational interests of non-workers, particularly the unemployed and the retired be protected? Is it the case that the financial system which the Yugoslavs are developing is too heavily dependent on decisions in the workplace?

The examiners returned to the general question of linking education to work from the point of view of the anxiety they had expressed concerning the fate of the 'less readily marketable products of higher education' (Question 17). It was asked particularly whether the system of self-management and free exchange of labour resulted in sufficient allocation of resources for cultural, as distinct from utilitarian, studies. The Yugoslav answer was forthright. It was acknowledged that in some fields a 'surplus' of graduates exists because of past looseness in the tie between education and the demand for labour in society. It was also acknowledged that graduate unemployment is not unknown, partly because of unplanned 'production', and partly because of the tendency for graduates to seek employment in the urban centres, despite the fact that vacancies existed in small towns and remote villages. But confidence was expressed that self-management and the free exchange of labour would solve these problems in the future. Moreover, the important and interesting point was asserted that workers, contributing material resources to higher education, would not fail to attend to the needs for culture, the arts, and the humanistic sciences. Indeed, it was argued that in Yugoslav experience 'simple' workers more often have greater understanding and sympathy for education of this type than do the traditional 'clerical bureaucracy'.

Instead, the Yugoslavs were inclined to put greater stress on the problem of educating individuals to relate realistically their individual interests to social requirements for experts in 'productive and non-productive' fields. As in other countries, so in Yugoslavia, there is some tendency for the young to favour the 'non-productive' professions, but the Yugoslavs envisage that these problems will gradually be resolved through appropriate enrolment policies in higher education and vocational guidance in secondary education.

The examiners had noticed considerable variation in different parts of the country in attitudes towards the više škole, and had asked in Question 18 about national policy for these institutions in the future. In reply the Yugoslavs insisted that there was no ambiguity of national policy, and that the više škole had an assured place in the new structure of vocational education, satisfying the objective need for professional qualifications at the sixth level in their classification system. The integration of these two-year colleges, however, involved their adaptation to the system of recurrent education, and had to provide for the possibility of continued studies for their students in the university faculties.

As in all educational arrangements, there was considerable variation between republics. In some, the work of the više škole is being incorporated into the universities, in others they feed the appropriate faculty, and in yet others they remain outside the university organisation, but with programmes of studies which are coordinated.

A long-standing problem of the traditional system of higher education in Yugoslavia was that of slow completion rates (Question 19). The particular question here was whether arrangements for students' scholarships and loans under the new system would ensure social equality of access. This problem is, of course, to be found in most countries, but its existence was acknowledged also in Yugoslavia, and the Education Committee was told that at the Universities of Belgrade and Zagreb research was under way to explore the problems of student finance and the organisation of studies. Participants from other countries were particularly interested in the Yugoslav experience with respect to student loans because the Yugoslavs believe that this system has increased the degree of social equality of access to higher education, and may do so even more in future. For example, in Serbia in 1974/75, 21,000 students received such loans, whereas in 1979 the number had increased to 26,000, covering one-third of all the students in the republic. An analysis of the social composition of students using loans in 1979 showed that 38 per cent came from families of manual workers, and a further 28 per cent from families of farmers. Another 14 per cent were the sons and daughters of retired persons, making a total of 80 per cent from families without special advantages in society. The Yugoslavs also emphasised that student loans were also provided from organisations of associated labour, especially in the case of students enrolled in the technical faculties of the universities.

More generally, with respect to the problems of access and funding in the developing system of continuing education, the Yugoslavs were optimistic. Admittedly, they did not dissent from the view formed by the examiners of the Workers' Universities. Undoubtedly the heyday of this institution is bound to pass as the gap is narrowed between the quality and quantity of education offered to the young, and the educational standards of adults who had passed through an under-developed education system. The future of the Workers' University is thought of as primarily directed towards the needs of culture and leisure of individuals, and to some extent towards offering second chances to those who had not fully used their opportunities in secondary education. But what was repeatedly insisted on was that the expression of interests through delegates from work organisations and the self-managing communities of interest would guarantee both a level of funds adequate to the needs of a modern society, as well as a healthy balance between the needs of the employed and the unemployed, the young and the old, the economic and the social. The confirmed belief of the Yugoslavs is that the productive system is the foundation of society, and that the interests emanating from it are the best guarantee of democracy in every other sphere of life.

# VI

## ADMINISTRATION, POWER AND CONTROL

### Question 24

Within a substantially decentralised system, how can a national overview be developed and how can there be an assurance that minimum standards are being observed? How can there be an assurance that the more affluent are providing reasonable help to the less developed areas and that the latter are making reasonable efforts on their own behalf?

### Question 25

How can education provisions serve national objectives of economic growth and satisfy priority needs, including those in prospect as a result of technological change, without a degree of central co-ordination? Is the accumulation of the results of the exercise of individual initiative an adequate process?

### Question 26

How, in practice, is power and authority distributed between the various groups of delegates, the political and administrative agencies, the enforcers of the legal requirements, and the sources of professional education, information and advice?

### Question 27

Is there a system or network below the horizon of the examiners' vision of people or positions with effective control?

### Question 28

How does the LCY perform its accepted leadership role? Does this require the selection, election or nomination of Party members to most key deliberative and executive posts?

Question 29

Is there recognition of the desirability of strengthening co-operation among the republics and autonomous provinces and is it accepted that a permanent secretariat for the Inter-Republican and Inter-Provincial Commission for the Transformation of Education would make a significant contribution in this direction? Are there any proposals to this end and what are the processes through which they will require approval?

Question 30

A particular point of concern about the restriction on the individual's choice and the exercise of powers over him is the policy for textbooks which limits the freedom of choice and breadth of awareness of institutions, teachers and students. Is this regarded as an essential control measure?

The Chairman of the examiners, Mr. Jones, led the Review Meeting into the fundamental problems of power and control. There had been adumbrations of these questions in the discussion of each of the levels of education, and the session had yielded a lively, if inconclusive, discussion of the role of the mass media in education broadly defined, which also raised the question of how far an educational policy has to choose between tight control and laissez-faire with respect to television, radio, newspapers, and magazines. The media problem is one for all nations. The Yugoslavs expressed their determination to steer between the extremes while providing for avenues of interest on behalf of education more narrowly defined.

At this juncture in the discussion attention was concentrated on two issues - the co-ordination of national objectives through devolved republican and provincial administrative arrangements, and the formal and informal power of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in the administrative and decision-making structures at all levels.

The question of power and influence had also been raised previously with respect to full-time administrators in higher education. Mr. Stamenović gave a clear, negative answer to Question 20. But he also pointed out that the system gave a proper position of influence to the administrative staff, without which they could not adequately discharge their duties. Administrators were required to carry out the decisions of the self-management bodies, and their own influence was naturally raised by their possession of information and expertise. Nevertheless, where the self-managing committees are strong, as they usually are, their authority is paramount over administrative influence. The Yugoslav system is an admittedly complex structure of democracy, but by the same token it is a thoroughgoing democracy.

Its perfect working depends upon the vigour of its participants, and one of the most important duties of education itself is to train everyone to perform adequately in self-managing bodies.

As to the alleged reluctance of university professors to face rapid reform in their institutions, it was conceded that some failed to participate as much as would be desirable. In such cases bureaucrats might exercise more power _de facto_ than _de jure_. The remedy, however, is obvious. If professors want to see their interests fully reflected in decision they have to be active in self-management, and the great majority are quickly learning to do so. There has been resistance among professors to reform for a wide variety of reasons. It is not so much that there is lack of consensus about the need for modernising higher education in response to the emerging social, scientific and technical needs of society. Conflict arises, however, over the means to these ends. This should surprise no one.

On the questions of creating and maintaining a national overview, and ensuring common standards throughout the country, the Yugoslavs were again keen to remind their questioners of the importance they attach to republican and provincial variety and autonomy. Thus the system depends not on federal direction but on republican consultation and agreement. The centre provides a good deal of co-ordination through planning in the medium and long term, but decision is local, and sharing emerges from democratic agreement between mutual interests and obligations.

The discussion of Question 26 gave the Yugoslav Delegation the opportunity of explaining further the mechanisms of co-ordination. First, there is the role of the delegates in all the territorial political communities from the humblest commune to the federation. These delegates constitute the law-makers in the republics and provinces; they determine broad educational policy, assess the current state of education, appraise plans and programmes.

Second, in the self-management communities of interest for education, the work of the educational institutions is governed, resources allocated, and links maintained between the educational institutions, the community, and the workplace.

Third, there are educational councils, organised in every republic and province, which determine the curricula of the several types of schools, and the organisation of tuition. They also approve textbooks to be used in schools, determine staffing levels, and the qualifications required of teaching staff, the standards of equipment in the schools, etc.

Fourth, there are professional and research institutions which make proposals to the educational councils for the development of education, and also monitor the educational programmes and give in-service instruction to teachers.

Finally, there are the management bodies in the republics and provinces as well as in the communes, which are responsible for the inspection and supervision of the educational institutions, and for seeing to it that laws and regulations are implemented.

In answer to Question 29 as to whether a permanent secretariat for the Inter-republican and Inter-provincial Commission for the Transformation of Education was envisaged, the Yugoslavs mentioned that they were discussing the possible establishment of a new inter-republican body to reinforce the existing arrangements for co-ordination in education, and physical culture. But the outcome of current discussions is not easy to predict.

For some, the issue of balancing freedom and order in education turns on the question of choice, and this was illustrated in the discussion of Question 30 on the way in which textbooks are produced for the schools. The Yugoslav representatives were satisfied that the arrangements described in Chapter VI constituted an appropriate solution, often in practice giving the teacher a choice between two or three alternatives. But the meeting was left with the impression that, where the issue of choice is most difficult, i.e. in such fields as history, politics, and philosophy, the Yugoslavs leant more towards order than towards individual freedom.

For many delegates from the other OECD countries, however, the nub of the issue was contained in Question 28, in which it was asked how the League of Communists of Yugoslavia performed its accepted leadership role. In response Mr. Milutinović pointed out that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia was not a classical political party in power, but an organisation which strove, with its membership, as an ideological force, for the principles which it advocated to become those of the entire society, the property of all citizens and working people. It did so not from a position of power and monopoly but through the force of argument and reason, a policy which was assessed every day by the whole society, and by suggesting a vision of the further development of society in which the working people would really become the masters of the social and economic life of the country.

All of this might seem like mere rhetoric if one had classical political parties in mind. However, as already mentioned, the League of Communists was not a classical political party. In everyday practical action, it must prove itself and strive for the acceptance of its principles and views in self-management units and delegate assemblies.

Research workers were able to see this in practice, particularly the fact that the socialist society, especially the self-management society, did not lack contradictions, differences in regional development, differences in attitudes and, in particular, in interests. All these contradictions could only be resolved through the further development of democracy, through the patient accommodation of conflicting opinions, through the so-called pluralism of self-management interests, through the further strengthening of the self-management process - all in all, Yugoslavia must continue to work on the further deepening of the concept of development through self-management.

In a democratic self-management society like that of Yugoslavia, the people elected to leading executive and advisory posts were the individuals who were the most engaged, in practice, in this strengthening and development of the socialist self-management society, in pursuit of the policy of non-alignment, the equal rights of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia and other principles of the self-management socialist community. This implied that the most capable people were to be elected - those who could fulfil the tasks and duties which were laid upon them. A considerable number of League of Communist members were such people, but membership of the League was by no means a prerequisite for someone to be elected or appointed to a certain post. The main requirement was one's dedication to the self-management socialist development of the country and proven professional qualities and capacities.

All these matters were regulated both by the Constitution of the Socialist Federation of Yugoslavia and by a series of other laws and regulations. These included the principles of personal and collective responsibility, rotation, the restriction of re-election, collective leadership, all of which created the conditions for democratic discussion, behaviour and responsibility and prevented an individual, regardless of his membership of the League, from improperly usurping a function or position. In fact, a member of the League of Communists was expected to be an example to others through his work and conduct.

Part Three

# SUMMARY OF THE REPORT ON THE CONDITIONS, PROBLEMS AND POLICIES OF EDUCATION IN YUGOSLAVIA

prepared under the auspices of the
Federal Administration for International Scientific,
Educational, Cultural and Technical Co-operation(FAISECTEC)
Belgrade

# INTRODUCTION

The Report was drawn up as a background document for discussion of the policy of education in Yugoslavia, within the Country Review procedure of the OECD Education Committee.

In view of the special characteristics of Yugoslavia as a socialist self-management country, Parts I and II of the Report concentrate on the socio-economic conditions in which education has been developing there and the basic principles on which this development has been based. The third part describes the present state of education in Yugoslavia and changes that are under way. This includes reference to the conditions and factors that have transformed it to a self-management socialist system. Indeed, all parts of the Report stress the influence of self-management on the creation, content and main directions of the country's educational policy.

The complex multinational composition of Yugoslavia and the unequal degree of development of its constituent parts have, by necessity, been reflected in the Report describing not only the common ground but also the specific needs, characteristics and pace of development of education in the various republics and provinces.

The Report concludes with tables of the more important statistical data and a list of publications on the system and policy of education in Yugoslavia, some of which have been translated into other languages.

For those unfamiliar with the social system in Yugoslavia it may be helpful if three basic, and therefore frequently recurring, terms are defined before we proceed to summarise the three parts of the Report. These are:

Self-Management. Article 10 of the Constitution states that the socialist socio-economic system of the SFRY shall be based on freely associated labour, socially owned means of production and self-management by the working people in production, in the distribution of the social product of basic and other organisations of associated labour, and in social reproduction as a whole.

**Organisations of Associated Labour**. This is a generic term for those economic and non-economic organisations which carry out their activities with socially owned resources and are organised on a self-management basis. These were formerly referred to as 'enterprises' (for the economic sector) and 'institutions' (for the non-economic sector).

**Self-Management Communities of Interest** are communities formed by working people directly or through their self-managing organisations and communities for the purpose of satisfying specific common needs. Their aim is to link the interests of those who render specific public services with those who use these services. Such communities of interest include, for example, education, science, culture, health, welfare and the like.

## Part I

## THE SOCIO-POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL FRAMEWORK AND CONDITIONS OF DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN YUGOSLAVIA

This Part of the Report consists of six chapters, the titles of which mostly give a fair enough indication of their coverage:

### i) The Major Characteristics of the Socio-Economic Development in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

This starts with an account of the major political changes that took place from 1945 onwards, resulting in a dynamic economic, social and political development on the basis of socially-owned means of production and socialist self-management. During this period the economy developed strongly, resulting in a several-fold increase of the national income, a significant growth in employment and a relatively high standard of living in which education has a prominent position. Through the changes in the economic and political system, the workers in associated labour and elsewhere became the direct protagonists of political power and the social group who determine development policy for the country - and that, of course, includes education. Also covered are the difficulties, problems and discrepancies that have been encountered in these developments which further affected plans for all of society - education, again, included.

## ii) The Position, Function and Development of Education within the Overall Social and Economic Development of Yugoslavia

## iii) The Main Indicators of Progress and the Present Degree of Development of Education in Yugoslavia

## iv) Raising the Educational Level of the Population and Changes in the Educational and Qualifications Structure of those Employed

The continual raising of the educational level of the population has an extremely important role in realising speedier economic development and overall social progress. In the conditions of self-management, education became an essential element in the general strategy of change in the socialist society of Yugoslavia. As such, it is increasingly losing the characteristics of something for general consumption and becoming a factor in the expansion of social reproduction, in the productive forces and, in short, in socialist self-management in all its forms. With this motivation, radical changes are currently taking place so that education may become a part of associated labour, adjusted in all its aspects to the needs of a developing society and the all-round development of the individual worker's personality.

Within this chapter comparative data are given to illustrate the development of pre-school, elementary, secondary, 2-year and 4-year higher education and adult education from 1945 onwards. These show a higher rate of involvement of both the young and adults at all levels of education and the significant proportion of pupils who completed school or graduate studies. There is already a high degree of linkage between the educational system and other communities of interest but there is still room for improvement in this respect. Particular stress is laid on the policy of full equality in education as between the component nationalities of Yugoslavia and upon the principle of solidarity.

By comparing statistical data on the rising level of education, an impressive picture is obtained of improvements in the productive-creative capability of the active population and in the potential of the social capabilities for speedier social and economic development. This is particularly evident in the significant increase in the number of skilled workers and professional personnel who have completed secondary or higher (2-year and 4-year) education.

## v) Characteristic Stages in the Process of Socialising and Democratising Education from Administrative-State Management to Self-Management

Chapter Five examines the principal stages through which the socialising and democratising of education have been achieved, starting from state management and finishing with developed socialist self-management. Promulgation of the new Constitution and Law on Education had, of course, profound effects on the socio-economic position of education and the more important of the resultant changes are here described. These include: the progress of decreasing the role of the state in education; new relations between education and society; the transition to self-management; the schools' increasing independence in the financing of their work; the foundation of school funds and communities of education; the creation of direct links between schools and organisations of associated labour; the establishment of self-management communities of interest for education and of others, by way of which the former state-budgetary way of financing education was replaced by new socio-economic relations in the form of a free exchange of labour between education and the rest of associated labour.

The Resolution on Education adopted by the League of Communists of Yugoslavia at its 10th Congress provided the main guidelines for self-management matters as they concern personnel and education in the process of their being adopted into an overall integral system of associated labour. It has particularly been stressed that working people in basic organisations of associated labour must master the overall development policy of education, decide directly on the amount and allocation of the part of the income set aside for education and satisfy their educational and personnel needs in direct relation with people working in education, as well as through self-management communities of interest for education. On such a basis as this workers in the fields of education and other social activities will acquire income by a free exchange of their labour in accordance with their contributions to the creation of new values in material production, labour productivity and the overall development of society. This ensures them an equal socio-economic position with other workers in associated labour.

## vi) The Main Problems in Education in Yugoslavia

Part I of the Report concludes by pin-pointing the major problems to be solved in the coming period. Such solutions will provide a starting point for new radical measures that will confirm present trends as steps towards a revolutionary transformation of all aspects and components of educational work in society.

## Part II

## SELF-MANAGEMENT ORGANISATION OF EDUCATION: EDUCATION IN THE SYSTEM OF ASSOCIATING LABOUR AND RESOURCES AND THE FREE EXCHANGE OF LABOUR

Part II of the Report has ten chapters. Once again, most of their titles give a fair indication of content.

### i) Integration of Socio-Economic Development and the Development of Education

In Yugoslavia the development of education is seen as an integral part of economic and social development. It is not only a precondition of dynamic growth, but also a factor that actively boosts material and social changes. The interest of workers as producers, managers and the protagonists of development is indivisible from their interest in the optimization of economic results which lead to the attainment of social goals of society. On this same basis it is possible to regulate the position of education in the Yugoslav society on the same self-management principles as the position of other sectors of work. Freed of state tutelage, it thus becomes an integral and indispensable sector of social work in the overall socio-economic development. The build-up to this has been numerous reforms during the past thirty-five years that were constantly directed at adjusting education to the needs of the social and economic sectors as these were developing.

At the same time, however, education is a precondition and consequence of man's right to self-management and his right to work with socially-owned means of production. For this reason it is a component part of the struggle of working people to achieve leading positions in social reproduction, for performing their economic and political supervision over the means, conditions and results of their labour (Kardelj). Hence the social function of education is expressed not only through preparing man for work but preparing him also to be the indisputable director of all social processes and changes, a creator and user of all goods. In other words, education in the Yugoslav society prepares man for labour based on self-management, for political life and for leisure time - and by that is meant education acquired both in school and later as a result of everyday participation in productive work, socio-economic and political processes and relationships. The Report emphasises that workers in associated labour have the right and duty to master education and to count on it as their force, and as a part, factor and function of self-management associated labour. It is they, therefore, who determine the goals, programmes and development policy of education and the criteria for evaluating its results.

### ii) The Forms of Socio-Economic Integration and Unity of Education with Other Spheres of Associated Labour

There are three areas especially where education has been integrated into socio-economic life. The first is where (without the state as intermediary) the workers in associated labour have decided on the goals and policy of education, the financial resources and criteria for their distribution, the network and location of educational work organisations, curricula and programmes and evaluation and planning. The second area of particular linkage is in the provision of work, polytechnical and productive education; the third is found in education for the working people, part-time or recurrent education, and in the participation of personnel from other branches of associated labour in the work of the educational sector.

### iii) The Socio-Economic Content of Income; Relations in Generating and Allocating Income; Transformation of Secondary Allocation into Specified-Purpose Allocation

Income is created in the material sphere, but its generation is directly influenced by such factors as education, science and social welfare. For this reason, the principles involved apply equally to social activities where the exchange of labour with material production and other users is free and is ratified by compacts between those conducting these activities and the users of their "services" - their work. This process is complex and has encountered a number of difficulties, even opposition, in its realisation. Nevertheless, it is progressing continually.

### iv) The Principal Groups and Organisations Concerned with Education. Policies for Applying the Principles of Income and the Free Exchange of Labour to the Education System

The groups and organisations with an interest in educational policies and personnel are numerous. The principal among them are: working people and citizens with their personal educational needs and interests who belong to the basic organisations of associated labour; business communities and other associations; local communities; working people actually working in the fields of education, implementing the programmes of work, organised in various educational institutions such as schools; young people and adults, organised in their appropriate communities; and socio-political organisations; self-management communities of interest and assemblies of socio-political communities from the commune to the

Assembly of Yugoslavia. These principal participants in the education system are represented also by delegates in a wide variety of groups specially active in developing the system and implementing the policy of education, and consist of the management-executive organs (secretariats, committees, institutes, commissions for international co-operation in education, and so on). All socio-political organisations (The League of Communists, etc.) have an important role in promoting, guiding and monitoring the transformation of education, which they also do in accordance with the Constitution, Associated Labour Act, social compacts, self-management agreements and other forms of standing commitment.

### v) The Principles, Forms and Methods of Realising the Free Exchange of Labour in Education

The exchange of labour between work organisations is performed directly, or indirectly, through the self-management communities of interest for education. Educational work organisations can be part of a work organisation, or a composite work organisation of associated labour. In this way possibilities are created for the joint use of equipment and personnel. Also explained in the Report is the establishment of self-management communities of interest for education among themselves and with other work organisations - either on a territorial basis (pre-school and elementary education, and in places the common basis of vocational education) or on a vertical principle if the subject, e.g. vocational education, requires this. Pupils and students all participate in the work of the communities.

### vi) The Cost of Education as an Instrument of the Free Exchange of Labour and Criteria by which it is calculated

### vii) Planning Education in Organisations of Associated Labour and in Self-Management Communities of Interest for Education

The planning of education in organisations of associated labour and in self-management communities of interest for education is an integral part of self-management decision-making and closely bound up with its integration in a unified system of social planning. The components and sub-systems of self-management planning of education are also set out in this chapter. There are no hierarchic relations among the sub-systems and the planning of education is performed simultaneously and in co-ordination with all sub-systems. The main preconditions for such planning are the defining of educational needs of the working people in associated labour and society, the economic and social-cultural determinants of educational planning, pedagogic and material standards, the grounds and scales for associating and the exchange of labour, the price of education, programmes, capacities and other material and human conditions for educational activity.

## viii) The Function of Organisations of Associated Labour in the Field of Education

These organisations rank with others whose activities are of special social concern. Workers in associated labour in the field of educational work have an equal socio-political position, equal rights, duties and responsibilities with those in other associations of labour. When, however, affairs of special social concern are in question, delegates of the users, founders and socio-political organisations also participate in their management as empowered by the Constitution and various self-management acts. Income is generated as described in Chapter (iii) and personal incomes are formed and allocated according to the amount of work performed and its results.

## ix) The Socio-Economic Position, Rights and Responsibilities of those attending Education

Those attending education (whether pupils, students or adults) have defined rights and duties vis-à-vis society and the relevant work organisations. These stem from the principle that acceptance of education entails social and material responsibility towards those who have provided the resources for it. This has put the user into a special relationship with associated labour in the course of which the old system of issuing credits and scholarships has been transformed into one of mutual rights and responsibilities. This gives a new dimension to the participation of pupils, students and adults in self-management in education which no longer depends on their place in the educational stream but directly on their new relationship with associated labour and the self-management principle.

## x) The Application of the Principle of Solidarity and Reciprocity in Education

Adoption of these principles has ensured the creation of equal opportunities for education regardless of the socio-economic situation of the family and the stage of development of the social environment. This has been achieved by complementing and correcting the effects of distribution according to work performed and the differences in the conditions of production, distribution, exchange and consumption of goods and cultural values which have not yet been overcome. Solidarity and reciprocity are not taken exclusively as ethical concepts but as a specific form of applying the principle of distribution according to needs. The chapter describes the forms and types of social intervention aimed at decreasing inequalities in education (funds, resources of the self-management communities of interest for education and child welfare, the pupils and students standards, etc.). Particular emphasis is laid on the complementary financing of education in underdeveloped regions.

## Part III

# BASIC PRINCIPLES, CONCEPTS AND MEANS FOR TRANSFORMING THE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION IN YUGOSLAVIA

The third part of the Report is the most extensive. It consists of eleven chapters, the last six of which are relatively short and represented in this summary, therefore, by their titles alone.

## i) Basic Principles and Concepts

The first of the principles on which the new system of education in Yugoslavia has been developed is that of the broadest socialisation - that is basing education on the needs of the entire socialist society, instead of on the special interests of some narrow social groups. The application of this principle entailed a number of changes in the system progressively following the first law on education in 1945 through the general Law on Education in 1958 (decentralisation and self-management), the Federal Assembly of Yugoslavia Resolution on the development of education on a self-management basis (1970) and finally the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Xth Congress Resolution which marked the true beginning of the revolutionary transformation.

So far, the most obvious results of applying the principle of the broadest socialisation are the increasing involvement of children, young people and adults in compulsory 8-year elementary education, acceptance of the concept of lifelong education in a self-management society, and the beginning of a unified system embracing all levels from pre-school to adult education accessible to everyone. With the traditional division between these levels being effaced, horizontal and vertical accessibility being increased and the concept of recurrent education being accepted, a second principle is being realised, namely the functional adjustment of the system to the needs of society, associated labour and the individual.

Such development does not only mean the unification of the system but, through the principles of self-management and of unity in diversity, it also allows for different solutions for the specific problems of the various socialist republics, provinces and narrower regions, and even for individual educational work organisations.

This chapter also enlarges upon the application of the principle of democratisation of the education system. All citizens have the right to acquire education under equal conditions determined by law, at all levels of the system and in all forms of educational work organisations, regardless of sex, race, nationality or religion. Such democratisation is also reflected in the school being separate from the church, in the equality of national languages and cultures in education, in the greater involvement of the young and adults in 8-year elementary education and of others in secondary and the higher levels and the common basis of vocational education on which the realisation of the right to work and other rights are based. At the end of the 1977/78 school year, 4,339,765 people - over a fifth of the overall population of Yugoslavia - were engaged in some form of education.

The central problem in democratisation is the total elimination of dualism in secondary education and the improvement of the social structure for students. This is being resolved by a radical transformation of secondary and higher levels to vocationally-directed education with a common basic programme, the expansion and revision of the school network, promotion of part-time and recurrent education, raising the standard of living of the students and by other social measures promoting solidarity.

As to the cost of education, only instruction is free; other expenses are borne by parents, students or work organisations. Free textbooks, paid transport and the issuing of credits, scholarships and places in hostels are all coming in. Tito's Fund for the education of young workers also provides great assistance. By developing new socio-economic relations, with the integration in associated labour and the establishment of binding relations between students and work organisations, the problem of free education will be solved in the spirit of the country's basic social structure.

As already explained, the new system of education in Yugoslavia is based on the principle of integration of work and education, an essential principle in the socialist model. It consists of linking work with education and education (instruction) with work not only by way of new socio-economic relations but also within the educational process itself. The LCY Xth Congress particularly insisted on this, demanding decisively that all forms of education be linked with social work as the source of all benefits, the basis of the life of society and the measure of man's value. Work is an indispensable part of education, the LCY Xth Congress Resolution states, for training people for work, primarily in production, and for the all-round development of the personality. The objective is to eliminate distinctions between workers and intellectuals that generated in class societies and to develop a new type of man, educated in work and culture, who works and manages, and whose essentially human potential has not been alienated.

This principle has had a strong effect on the education system, particularly at the secondary level. Elements of productive work have been introduced in the elementary school curricula where polytechnical education was already present; secondary, 2-year and 4-year higher education are more closely linked with the system of work primarily because of the introduction of technical subjects and production practice in the basic curricula of vocational education, and the co-ordination of higher professional education with the so-called qualifications scale. Thus a whole generation acquires better general education and is trained for a profession and for lifelong education at higher vocational levels. All of this has increased the role and responsibility of the work organisations who have to work out production practice and whose equipment and personnel have to serve the tasks of education.

In short, the aim of this new vocationally-directed system is to achieve a dynamic balance of general and professional education producing men not only qualified for the labour force but also with all-round developed personalities. This coincides with the needs of modern production because of the increasing intellectualisation demanded of its professional manpower, the increased frequency with which workers must be re-trained.

Another two principles that lie behind the transformation of education in Yugoslavia are Marxism and the principle of efficiency and economy in the system which establishes the link between education and the needs of associated labour and society, planning, and a higher quality of educational work.

This chapter is not devoid, however, of some self-criticism, and examples are quoted of shortcomings still to be seen here and there in the complete fulfilment of the new system of education. These include repetition of classes, dropouts, over-long duration of studies, uneconomical school networks and the schooling of individuals who are not required by the economy.

### ii) The Present Structure of the Education System

As a result of the changes described at some length already, the education system in Yugoslavia can now be seen to consist of two parts - one basic and the other vocationally directed. Basic education embraces the former pre-school and elementary education while vocational education (as a succession of increasingly higher levels of professional instruction) includes the former secondary and 2-year and 4-year higher education. Adult education, according to the new concept, forms an equal part of the system with that for the young.

149

The principal changes in the basic sector are: the programmatic and organisational linking of pre-school and elementary education; the faster development of the pre-school stage; the involvement of all children in various forms of pre-school education a year before enrolment at elementary school; co-ordinating the content and methods of work with children, to provide an earlier socially-organised education for as many pre-school children as possible and to ensure an equal start at enrolment at elementary school. This should also correct inequalities due to influence of different family and social conditions, and increase the effectiveness of elementary and further education.

As to elementary school, the aims are to achieve full enrolment of children of the appropriate age; to decrease to a minimum the number of dropouts and unjustified repetition of classes; and during compulsory elementary education (which is reformed in programme) to lay a sound basis for vocationally-directed education. The elementary school as a general educational and compulsory school is not selective in the narrow sense of the word and must develop each child optimally in accordance with his individual capabilities.

The chapter then proceeds to point out the main differences between the curricula of elementary schools in the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces and reports what is being done to reduce such differences to an essential minimum. It is particularly stressed that one of the main goals of the new policy is to change the ways and forms of work and the position of pupils and teachers in the educational process, to get the pupils actually to participate in the educational process, with a view to their acquiring the necessary knowledge (and critical faculty) and being trained for self-management. This aim presupposes a change of attitude of pupils, teachers and parents toward school, knowledge and the application of modern educational programmes, methods and teaching aids, unburdening the curricula, better equipping the schools (large and small) for modern educational work. The need is also explained for improving the orientation of pupils' professional guidance so that they can more sensibly select the appropriate vocational education for the profession or occupation of their choice. This is another reason for linking elementary education with associated labour and the vocational sector.

The chapter concludes with a review of the present position and function of education in the overall social and economic scene in Yugoslavia and the main indicators with which to monitor the directions and degree of its development.

### iii) Developing a System for Vocationally-Directed Education

This chapter begins with a short explanation of the dualistic character of secondary education as it used to be, with its general-educational secondary schools ("gymnazija") on the one hand and professional schools on the other, and the various prospects for further education and training later on for higher and better paid positions in society. This system strengthened social differences and contributed to the perpetuation of the old social structure. To counter this, one of the first aims of the new system has been to raise and equalise the level of general education of all students and adults who continue with education after elementary school so that all have an equal start for further education. This also postpones the choice of profession to the age of 17, avoids too early specialisation and provides a basis of a higher general education for the later stages in the system. With this in mind, basic general education has been augmented by four special subjects in the first two forms of vocational education. One of these covers the technical side of production and is linked with students' practical work in this field. After completing this stage, the student can then take a job and continue with part-time or recurrent education to get higher levels of training and education.

To encourage such progression, vocational education policy has the further aim of co-ordinating all following stages and levels of such education with the degrees of complexity of work and levelling out of workers and administrative jobs according to the equal complexity of work (the proposal of the so-called "qualifications scale" which is still being discussed). The third policy aim is to expand and promote part-time and recurrent education so that working people can acquire higher levels of education in accordance with their capabilities and needs (personal and of associated labour) without leaving their jobs.

As part of this process of change efforts are being made to speed up the integration of educational and work organisations (directly and by way of self-management communities of interest) and for the educational work organisations to be mutually integrated in educational centres, horizontally and vertically, that is, secondary with 2-year and 4-year higher education organisations where this proves necessary and economical. And finally, just as in basic education, the policy is to implement an internal reform of relations between the students and teachers and of the ways and methods of work so that the students may be the participants in their joint work. These aims are already being realised although some difficulties have been encountered on the way. However, the Report assesses these as being only temporary and they are already being eliminated.

Still considering the first two stages of vocational education, this chapter gives details of the curricula and the programme as a whole. As with basic education, points of difference between the socialist republics and autonomous provinces are enumerated and illustrated with graphs and statistical data.

A short survey is given, too, of the higher stages of vocational education (what used to be called 2-year and 4-year higher learning). The policy aims at this stage are: to ensure speedy and qualitative self-management organisation; continually to co-ordinate the programmes of scientific and instructional work with the needs of associated labour; and to link the higher levels of vocational education with the lower ones (the "secondary" level) both in programmes and in organisation to create an overall system of vocationally-directed education co-ordinated with the so-called "qualifications scale" that is, the degree of complexity of work. Further aims for this level are: a breadth of scientific education and a Marxist, undogmatic spirit in research and instruction; improving the status of students and teachers and in the educational work organisations of higher education; and achieving a greater effectiveness and rationalisation of studies.

Completing Part III of the Report are the following chapters whose titles indicate their content clearly enough:

iv) Teachers and Other Educational Personnel

v) Pedagogic Development Services and Research Work

vi) The Writing, Publishing and Use of Textbooks

vii) Supervision of the Work of Schools and other Educational Institutions

viii) Co-operation and Co-ordination among Republics and Provinces in Realising the Development Policy for Education and Training

ix) The Role of Socio-Political Organisations in Developing the System and Policy of Education

x) The Educational Information and Documentation System

xi) Final Statements

An Annex includes: basic statistical data on Yugoslavia; an excerpt from the statute of an elementary school; the draft of a unified basis for a "qualifications scale"; some facts about the education of Yugoslav children abroad; and a glossary of self-management terms in English.

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